

*Dan Manville*

THE  
*LETTERS*  
OF  
JUNIUS,  
*Kin two Volumes,*

*with Additions and explanatory Notes.*

Vol.1.



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# DEDICATION

## TO THE

# *English Nation.*

I DEDICATE to You a collection of Letters, written by one of Yourselves for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size, without your continued encouragement and applause. To me they owe nothing, but a healthy, sanguine constitution. Under Your care they have thriven. To You they are indebted for whatever strength and beauty they possess. When Kings and Ministers are forgotten, when the

force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles, worthy to be transmitted to posterity. When You leave the unimpaired, hereditary freehold to Your children, You do but half Your duty. Both liberty and property are precarious, unless the possessors have sense and spirit enough to defend them---This is not the language of vanity. If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.

If an honest, and, I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service has given me any weight in Your esteem, let me exhort and conjure You never to suffer an invasion of your political constitution, however minute the instance

may appear, to pass by, without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another.—They soon accumulate, and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to-day, is doctrine. Examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy.—Be assured that the laws, which protect Us in our civil rights, grow out of the constitution, and that they must fall or flourish with it. This is not the cause of faction, or of party, of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain. Although the King should continue to support his present system of government, the period is not very distant, at which You will have the means of redress in your own power. It may be nearer perhaps than any of us expect, and I would warn You to be prepared

for it. The King may possibly be advised to dissolve the present parliament a year or two before it expires of course, and precipitate an new election, in hopes of taking the nation by surprize. If such a measure be in agitation, this very caution may defeat or prevent it.

I cannot doubt that You will unanimously assert the freedom of election, and vindicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives. But other questions have been stated, on which your determination should be equally clear and unanimous. Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the *Palladium* of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman, and that the right of juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our constitution,

## DEDICATION.

v

constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the judges, nor in any shape questionable by the legislature. The power of King, Lords, and Commons is not an arbitrary power.\* They are the truf-

\* This positive denial, of an arbitrary power being vested in the legislature, is not in fact a new doctrine. When the Earl of Lindsey, in the year 1675, brought a bill into the house of lords, *To prevent the dangers, which might arise from persons disaffected to government*, by which an oath and penalty was to be imposed upon the members of both houses, it was affirmed, in a protest signed by twenty-four lay-peers, (my lords the bishops were not accustomed to protest) "That the privilege of "sitting in parliament was an honour they had by "birth, and a right so inherent in them, and inse- "parable from them, that nothing could take it a- "way, but what, by the law of the land, must "withal take away their lives, and corrupt their "blood."—These noble peers, (whose names are a reproach to their posterity) have, in this instance, solemnly denied the power of parliament to alter the constitution. Under a particular proposition, "they have asserted a general truth, in which every man in England is concerned.

trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in US. They cannot alienate, they cannot waste. When we say that the legislature is *supreme*, we mean that it is the highest power known to the constitution;—that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the laws. In this sense, the word *supreme* is relative, not absolute. The power of the legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice, and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit, that Kings, Lords, and Commons have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They might unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of parliament. But I am

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persuaded YOU will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons, notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves. The certainty of forfeiting their own rights, when they sacrifice those of the nation, is no check to a brutal, degenerate mind. Without insisting upon the extravagant concession made to Harry the VIII. there are instances, in the history of other countries, of a formal, deliberate surrender of the public liberty into the hands of the sovereign. If England does not share the same fate, it is because we have better resources, than in the virtue of either house of parliament.

I said that the liberty of the Press is the *palladium* of all your rights, and that the right of the juries to return a general verdict is part of your constitution. To preserve the whole system, You must  
to

correct your legislature. With regard to any influence of the constitution over the conduct of the representative, there is little difference between a seat in parliament for seven years and a seat for life. The prospect of your resentment is too remote ; and although the last session of a septennial parliament be usually employed in courting the favour of the people, consider that, at this rate, your representatives have six years for offence, and but one for atonement. A death-bed repentance seldom reaches to restitution. If you reflect that the changes of administration, which have marked and disgraced the present reign, although your warmest patriots have in their turn been invested with the lawful and unlawful authority of the crown, and tho' other reliefs or improvements have been held forth to the people, yet that no one man in office has ever promoted or en-

couraged

## DEDICATION. ix

couraged a bill for shortening the duration of parliaments, but that, (whoever was minister) the opposition to this measure, ever since the septennial act passed, has been constant and uniform on the part of government.—You cannot but conclude, without the possibility of a doubt, that long parliaments are the foundation of the undue influence of the crown. This influence answers every purpose of arbitrary power to the crown, with an expence and oppression to the people, which would be unnecessary in an arbitrary government. The best of our ministers find it the easiest and most compendious mode of conducting the King's affairs; and all ministers have a general interest in adhering to a system, which of itself is sufficient to support them in office, without any assistance from personal virtue, popularity, labour, abilities, or experience. It promises every gratifi-

x DEDICATION.

cation to avarice and ambition, and secures impunity.----These are truths unquestionable.---If they make no impression, it is because they are too vulgar and notorious. But the inattention or indifference of the nation has continued too long. You are roused at last to a sense of your danger.---The remedy will soon be in your power. If *Junius* lives, You shall often be reminded of it. If, when the opportunity presents itself, You neglect to do your duty to yourselves and to posterity,---to God and to your country, I shall have one consolation left, in common with the meanest and basest of mankind.---Civil liberty may still last the life of

JUNIUS.

PREFACE

## P R E F A C E.

THE encouragement, given to a multitude of spurious, mangled publications of the letters of JUNIUS, persuades me, that a compleat edition, corrected and improved by the author, will be favourably received. The printer will readily acquit me of any view to my own profit. I undertake this troublesome task, merely to serve a man who has deserved well of me, and the public; and who, on my account, has been exposed to an expensive, tyrannical prosecution. For these reasons, I give to Mr. *Henry Sampson Woodfall*, and to him alone, my right, interest, and property in these Letters, as fully and compleatly, to all intents and purposes, as an author

author can possibly convey his property in his own works to another.

THIS edition contains all the letters of JUNIUS, PHILO JUNIUS, and of SIR WILLIAM DRAPER and Mr. HORNE to JUNIUS, also those of MODESTUS, FRANCIS, JUNIA, with their respective dates, and according to the order in which they appeared in the Public Advertiser. The auxiliary part of PHILO JUNIUS was indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in JUNIUS, in answer to plausible objections; but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it. The notes will be found not only useful, but necessary. References to facts not generally known, or allusions to the current report or opinion of the day, are in a little time unintelligible. Yet the reader will not find himself overloaded with explanations. I was not born to be a commentator, even upon my own works.

IT remains to say a few words upon the liberty of the press. The daring spirit, by  
which

which these letters are supposed to be distinguished, seems to require that something serious should be said in their defence. I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read, than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law. I speak to the plain understanding of the people, and appeal to their honest, liberal construction of me.

GOOD men, to whom alone I address myself, appear to me to consult their piety as little as their judgment and experience, when they admit the great and essential advantages accruing to society from the freedom of the press, yet indulge themselves in peevish or passionate exclamations against the abuses of it. Betraying an unreasonable expectation of benefits, pure and intire, from any human institution, they in effect arraign the goodness of Providence, and confess that they are dissatisfied with the common lot of humanity. In  
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the present instance they really create to their own minds, or greatly exaggerate the evil they complain of. The laws of England provide, as effectually as any human laws can do, for the protection of the subject, in his reputation, as well as in his person and property.. If the characters of private men are insulted or injured, a double remedy is open to them, by *action* and *indictment*. If, thro' indolence, false shame, or indifference, they will not appeal to the laws of their country, they fail in their duty to society, and are unjust to themselves. If, from an unwarrantable distrust of the integrity of juries, they would wish to obtain justice by any mode of proceeding, more summary than a trial by their peers, I do not scruple to affirm, that they are in effect greater enemies to themselves, than to the libeller they prosecute.

WITH regard to strictures upon the characters of men in office and the measures of government, the case is a little different. A considerable latitude must be allowed in the discussion of public affairs, or the liberty of the press will be of no benefit to society. As the indulgence

of private malice and personal slander should be checked and resisted by every legal means, so a constant examination into the characters and conduct of ministers and magistrates should be equally promoted and encouraged. They who conceive that our news-papers are no restraint upon bad men, or impediment to the execution of bad measures, know nothing of this country. In that state of abandoned fertility and prostitution, to which the undue influence of the crown has reduced the other branches of the legislature, our ministers and magistrates have in reality little punishment to fear, and few difficulties to contend with, beyond the censure of the press, and the spirit of resistance, which it excites among the people. While this censorial power is maintained, to speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner, both minister and magistrate is compelled, in almost every instance, to *choose between his duty and his reputation*. A dilemma of this kind, perpetually before him, will not indeed work a miracle upon his heart, but it will assuredly operate, in some degree, upon his conduct.

conduct. At all events, these are not times to admit of any relaxation in the little discipline we have left.

But it is alledged, that the licentiousness of the press is carried beyond all bounds of decency and truth ;—that our excellent ministers are continually exposed to the public hatred or derision ; that in prosecutions for libels on government ; juries are partial to the popular side ; and that, in the most flagrant cases, a verdict cannot be obtained for the King.—If the premises were admitted, I should deny the conclusion. It is not true, that the temper of the times has in general an undue influence over the conduct of juries. On the contrary, many signal instances may be produced of verdicts returned for the King, when the inclinations of the people led strongly to an undistinguished opposition to government. Witness the cases of Mr. *Wilkes* and Mr. *Almon*.—In the late prosecutions of the printers of my address to a great personage, the juries were never fairly dealt with.—*Lord Chief Justice Mansfield*, conscious that the paper in question contained no treasonable

sonable or libellous matter, and that the severest parts of it, however painful to the King, or offensive to his servants, were strictly true, would fain have restricted the jury to the finding of special facts, which, as to *guilty* or *not guilty*, were merely indifferent. This particular motive, combined with his general purpose to contract the power of juries, will account for the charge he delivered in *Woodfall's* trial. He told the jury, in so many words, that they had nothing to determine, except the fact of *printing and publishing*, and whether or no the *blanks*, or *innuendoes* were properly filled up in the information;—but that, whether the defendant had committed a *crime*, or not, was no matter of consideration to twelve men, who yet, upon their oaths, were to pronounce their peer *guilty*, or *not guilty*. When we hear such nonsense delivered from the bench, and find it supported by a laboured train of sophistry, which a plain understanding is unable to follow, and which an unlearned jury, however it may shock their reason, cannot be supposed qualified to refute, can it be

VOL. I. c wondered

wondered that they should return a verdict, perplexed, absurd, or imperfect? — *Lord Mansfield* has not yet explained to the world, why he accepted of a verdict, which the court afterwards set aside as illegal, and which, as it took no notice of the *innuendoes*, did not even correspond with his own charge. If he had known his duty he should have sent the jury back.—I speak advisedly, and am well assured that no lawyer, of character in Westminster-hall, will contradict me. To shew the falsehood of *Lord Mansfield's doctrine*, it is necessary to enter into the merits of the paper, which produced the trial. If every line of it were treason, his charge to the jury would still be false, absurd, illegal, and unconstitutional. If I stated the merits of my letter to *the King*, *I should imitate LORD MANSFIELD, and \** TRAVEL OUT OF THE RECORD.

*When*

\* The following quotation from a speech delivered by Lord Chatham on the eleventh of December, 1770, is taken with exactness. The reader will find it curious in itself, and very fit to be inserted here. “ My Lords, The verdict, given  
in

*When law and reason speak plainly, we do not want authority to direct our understandings.*  
*Yet,*

" in Woodfall's trial, was guilty of printing and  
" publishing ONLY; upon which two motions  
" were made in court;—one, in arrest of judg-  
" ment, by the defendant's council, grounded up-  
" on the ambiguity of the verdict;—the other,  
" by the council for the crown, for a rule upon  
" the defendant, to shew cause, why the verdict  
" should not be entered up according to the *legal*  
" import of the words. On both motions, a rule  
" was granted, and soon after the matter was ar-  
" gued before the court of King's Bench. The  
" noble judge, when he delivered the opinion of  
" the court upon the verdict, went regularly  
" through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi*  
" *Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given  
" as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding  
" would have been very proper, had a motion  
" been made of either side for a new trial, because  
" either a verdict given contrary to evidence, or  
" an improper charge by the judge at *Nisi Prius*,  
" is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a  
" new trial. But when a motion is made in arrest  
" of judgment, or for establishing the verdict, by  
" entering it up according to the legal import of  
" the words, it must be on the ground of some-

Yet, for the honour of the profession, I am content to oppose one lawyer to another, especially when it happens that the King's Attorney General has virtually disclaimed the doctrine, by which the Chief Justice meant to insure success to the prosecution. The opinion of the plaintiff's council, (however it may be otherwise insignificant) is weighty in the scale of the defendant.—*My Lord Chief Justice De Grey*, who filed the information *ex officio*, is directly with me. If he had concurred in *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine, the trial must have been

a very

“ thing appearing *on the face of the record*; and  
“ the court, in considering whether the verdict  
“ shall be established or not, are so confined to the  
“ *record*, that they cannot take notice of any thing  
“ that does not appear on the face of it; in the  
“ legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*.  
“ The noble judge did travel out of the record,  
“ and I affirm that his discourse was *irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented*. His apparent  
“ motive, for doing what he knew to be wrong,  
“ was, that he might have an opportunity of tel-  
“ ling the public *extrajudicially*, that the other  
“ three judges concurred in the doctrine laid down  
“ in his charge.”

a very short one. The facts were either admitted by *Woodfall's* council, or easily proved to the satisfaction of the jury. But *Mr. De Grey*, far from thinking he should acquit himself of his duty by barely proving the facts, entered largely, and I confess not without ability, into the demerits of the paper, which he called *a seditious libel*. He dwelt lightly upon those points, which, (according to *Lord Mansfield*) were the only matter of consideration to the jury. The criminal intent, the libellous matter, the pernicious tendency of the paper itself, were the topics, on which he principally insisted, and of which, for more than an hour, he tortured his faculties to convince the jury. If he agreed in opinion with *Lord Mansfield*, his discourse was impertinent, ridiculous, and unreasonable. But, understanding, the law as I do, what he said was at least consistent and to the purpose.

If any honest man should still be inclined to leave the construction of libels to the court, I would intreat him to consider what a dreadful complication of hardships he imposes upon his fellow-

fellow-subject.—In the first place, the prosecution commences by *information* of an officer of the crown, not by the regular constitutional mode of *indictment* before a grand jury.—As the fact is usually admitted, or in general can easily be proved, the office of the petty jury is nugatory.—The court then judges of the nature and extent of the offence, and determines *ad arbitrium*, the *quantum* of the punishment, from a small fine to a heavy one, to repeated whipping, to pillory, and unlimited imprisonment. Cutting off ears and noses *might* still be inflicted by a resolute judge; but I will be candid enough to suppose that penalties, so apparently shocking to humanity, would not be hazarded in these times.—In all other criminal prosecutions, the jury decides upon the fact and the crime in one word, and the court pronounces a *certain* sentence, which is the sentence of the law, not of the judge. If *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine be received, the jury must either find a verdict of *acquittal*, contrary to evidence (which I can conceive, might be done by very conscientious men, rather than trust a fellow creature

creature to *Lord Mansfield's* mercy) or they must leave to the court two offices, never but in this instance united, of finding guilty, and awarding punishment.

BUT, says this honest *Lord Chief Justice*, “ if the paper be not criminal, the defendant,” (tho' found guilty by his peers) “ is “ in no danger, for he may move the court “ in arrest of judgment.”—True, my good Lord, but who is to determine upon the motion?—Is not the court still to decide, whether judgment shall be entered up or not; and is not the defendant this way as effectually deprived of judgment by his peers, as if he were tried in a court of civil law, or in the chambers of the inquisition? It is you, my Lord, who then try the crime, not the jury. As to the probable effect of the motion in arrest of judgment, I shall only observe, that no reasonable man would be so eager to possess himself of the inviduous power of inflicting punishment, if he were not predetermined to make use of it.

AGAIN;—We are told that judge and jury have a distinct office;—that the jury is to find

the fact, and the judge to deliver the law. *De jure respondent judices, de facto jurati.* The *dictum* is true, though not in the sense given to it by *Lord Mansfield*. The jury are undoubtedly to determine the fact, that is, whether the defendant did or did not commit the crime charged against him. The judge pronounces the sentence annexed by law to that fact so found; and if, in the course of the trial, any question of law arises, both the council and the jury must, of necessity, appeal to the judge, and leave it to his decision. An *exception*, or *plea in bar* may be allowed by the court; but, when issue is joined, and the jury have received their charge, it is not possible, in the nature of things, for them to separate the law from the fact, unless they think proper to return a *special verdict*.

IT has also been alledged that, although a common jury are sufficient to determine a plain matter of fact, they are not qualified to comprehend the meaning, or to judge of the tendency of a seditious libel. In answer to this objection, (which, if well founded, would prove nothing as to the *strict right* of returning

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ing a general verdict) I might safely deny the truth of the assertion. *Englishmen* of that rank, from which juries are usually taken, are not so illiterate as, (to serve a particular purpose) they are now represented. Or, admitting the fact, let a special jury be summoned in all cases of difficulty and importance, and the objection is removed. But the truth is, that if a paper, supposed to be a libel upon government, be so obscurely worded, that twelve common men cannot possibly see the seditious meaning and tendency of it, it is in effect no libel. It cannot inflame the minds of the people, nor alienate their affections from government; for they no more understand what it means, than if it were published in a language unknown to them.

UPON the whole matter, it appears, to my understanding, clear beyond a doubt, that if, in any future prosecution for a seditious libel, the jury should bring in a verdict of acquittal not warranted by the evidence, it will be owing to the false and absurd doctrines laid down by *Lord Mansfield*. Disgusted at the odious artifices made use of by the Judge to

mislead and perplex them, guarded against his sophistry, and convinced of the falsehood of his assertions, they may perhaps determine to thwart his detestable purpose, and defeat him at any rate. To *him* at least they will do *substantial justice*.—Whereas, if the whole charge laid in the information, be fairly and honestly submitted to the jury, there is no reason whatsoever to presume that twelve men, upon their oaths, will not decide impartially between the King and the defendant. The numerous instances, in our state-trials, of verdicts recovered for the King, sufficiently refute the false and scandalous imputations thrown by the abettors of *Lord Mansfield* upon the integrity of juries.—But even admitting the supposition that, in times of universal discontent, arising from the notorious mal-administration of public affairs, a seditious writer should escape punishment, it makes nothing against my general argument. If juries are fallible, to what other tribunal shall we appeal?—If juries cannot safely be trusted, shall we unite the offices of judge and jury, so wisely divided by the constitution, and trust implicitly to *Lord Mansfield*?

field?—Are the judges of the court of King's Bench more likely to be unbiased and impartial, than twelve yeomen, burgesses, or gentlemen taken indifferently from the county at large?—Or, in short, shall there be *no* decision, until we have instituted a tribunal, from which no possible abuse or inconvenience whatsoever can arise?—If I am not grossly mistaken, these questions carry a decisive answer along with them.

HAVING cleared the freedom of the press from a restraint, equally unnecessary and illegal, I return to the use, which has been made of it in the present publication.

NATIONAL reflections, I confess, are not justified in theory, nor upon any general principles. To know how well they are deserved, and how justly they have been applied, we must have the evidence of facts before us. We must be conversant with the *Scots* in private life, and observe their principles of acting to *us*, and to each other;—the characteristic prudence, the selfish nationality, the indefatigable smile, the persevering assiduity, the everlasting profession of a discreet and moderate

resentment.—If the instance is not too important for an experiment, it might not be amiss to confide a little in their integrity.—Without any abstract reasoning upon causes and effects, we shall soon be convinced by *experience*, that the *Sects*, transplanted from their own country, are always a distinct and separate body from the people who receive them. In other settlements, they only love themselves; in *England*, they cordially love themselves, and as cordially hate their neighbours. For the remainder of their good qualities, I must appeal to the reader's observation, unless he will accept of my Lord Barrington's authority. In a letter to the late Lord Malcombe, published by Mr. Lee, he expresses himself with a truth and accuracy not very common in his lordship's lucubrations.—*And Cockburne, like most of his countrymen, is as abject to those above him, as he is insolent to those below him.*—I am far from meaning to impeach the articles of the union. If the true spirit of those articles were religiously adhered to, we should not see such a multitude of Scotch commoners in the lower house, as representatives of English burroughs,

roughs, while not a single Scotch borough is ever represented by an Englishman. We should not see English peerages given to Scotch ladies, or to the elder sons of Scotch peers, and the number of *sixteen* doubled and trebled by a scandalous evasion of the act of union.—If it should ever be thought advisable to dissolve an act, the violation or observance of which is invariably directed by the advantage and interest of the Scots, I shall say very sincerely with Sir Edward Coke.—\* “ *When poor Eng-*  
“ *land stood alone, and had not the access of an-*  
“ *other kingdom, and yet had more and as potent*  
“ *enemies as it now hath, yet the King of Eng-*  
“ *land prevailed.*”

SOME opinion may now be expected from me, upon a point of equal delicacy to the writer, and hazard to the printer. When the character of the chief magistrate is in question, more must be understood, than may safely be expressed. If it be really a part of our constitution, and not a mere *dictum* of the law, that  
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\* Parliamentary history, 7. V. p. 400.

*the King can do no wrong*, it is not the only instance, in the wisest of human institutions, where theory is at variance with practice.—That the Sovereign of this country is not amenable to any form of trial, known to the laws, is unquestionable. But exemption from punishment is a singular privilege annexed to the royal character, and no way excludes the possibility of deserving it. How long, and to what extent a King of *England* may be protected by the forms, when he violates the spirit of the constitution, deserves to be considered. A mistake in this matter proved fatal to *Charles* and his son.—For my own part, far from thinking that the King can do no wrong,—far from suffering myself to be deterred or imposed upon by the language of forms in opposition to the substantial evidence of truth, if it were my misfortune to live under the inauspicious reign of a prince, whose whole life was employed in one base, contemptible struggle with the free spirit of his people, or in the detestable endeavour to corrupt their moral principles, I would not scruple to declare to him,—

Sir,

—“ Sir, You alone are the author of the  
“ greatest wrong to your subjects and to your-  
“ self. Instead of reigning in the hearts of  
“ your people, instead of commanding their  
“ lives and fortunes through the medium of  
“ their affections, has not the strength of the  
“ crown, whether influence or prerogative,  
“ been uniformly exerted, for eleven years to-  
“ gether, to support a narrow, pitiful system  
“ of government, which defeats itself, and  
“ answers no one purpose of real power, pro-  
“ fit, or personal satisfaction to You ?—With  
“ the greatest unappropriated revenue of any  
“ prince in Europe, have we not seen You  
“ reduced to such vile, and sordid distresses,  
“ as would have conducted any other man to  
“ a prison ?—With a great military, and the  
“ greatest naval power in the known world,  
“ have not foreign nations repeatedly insulted  
“ You with impunity ?—Is it not notorious  
“ that the vast revenues, extorted from the  
“ labour and industry of your subjects, and  
“ given You to do honour to Yourself and  
“ to the nation, are dissipated in corrupting  
“ their

“ their representatives ?—Are You a prince  
“ of the House of Hanover, and do You ex-  
“ clude all the leading Whig families from  
“ your councils ?—Do you profess to govern  
“ according to law, and is it consistent with  
“ that profession, to impart your confidence  
“ and affection to those men only, who, tho'  
“ now perhaps detached from the desperate  
“ cause of the Pretender, are marked in this  
“ country by an hereditary attachment to high  
“ and arbitrary principles of government ?—  
“ Are You so infatuated as to take the sense  
“ of your people from the representation of  
“ ministers, or from the shouts of a mob, no-  
“ toriously hired to surround your coach, or  
“ stationed at a theatre ?—And if You are,  
“ in reality, that public Man, that King,  
“ that Magistrate, which these questions sup-  
“ pose You to be, is it any answer to your  
“ people, to say that, among your domestics  
“ You are good-humoured,—that to one lady  
“ You are faithful ;—that to your children  
“ You are indulgent ?—Sir, the Man, who  
“ addresses You in these terms is your best  
“ friend. He would willingly hazard his life  
“ in

“ in defence of your title to the crown ; and,  
“ if power be your object, would still shew  
“ You how possible it is for a king of England,  
“ by the noblest means, to be the most absolute  
“ prince in Europe. You have no enemies,  
“ Sir, but those, who persuade You to aim at  
“ power without right, and who think it flat-  
“ tery to tell You that the character of King dis-  
“ solves the natural relation between guilt and  
“ punishment.”

I CANNOT conceive that there is a heart so callous, or an understanding so depraved, as to attend to a discourse of this nature, and not to feel the force of it. But where is the man, among those who have access to the closet, resolute and honest enough to deliver it? The liberty of the press is our only resource. It will command an audience, when every honest man in the kingdom is excluded. This glorious privilege may be a security to the King, as well as a resource to his people. Had there been no star-chamber, there would have been no rebellion against Charles the first. The constant censure and admonition of the press

would have corrected his conduct, prevented a civil war, and saved him from an ignominous death.—I am no friend to the doctrine of precedents exclusive of right, though lawyers often tell us, that whatever has been once done, may lawfully be done again.

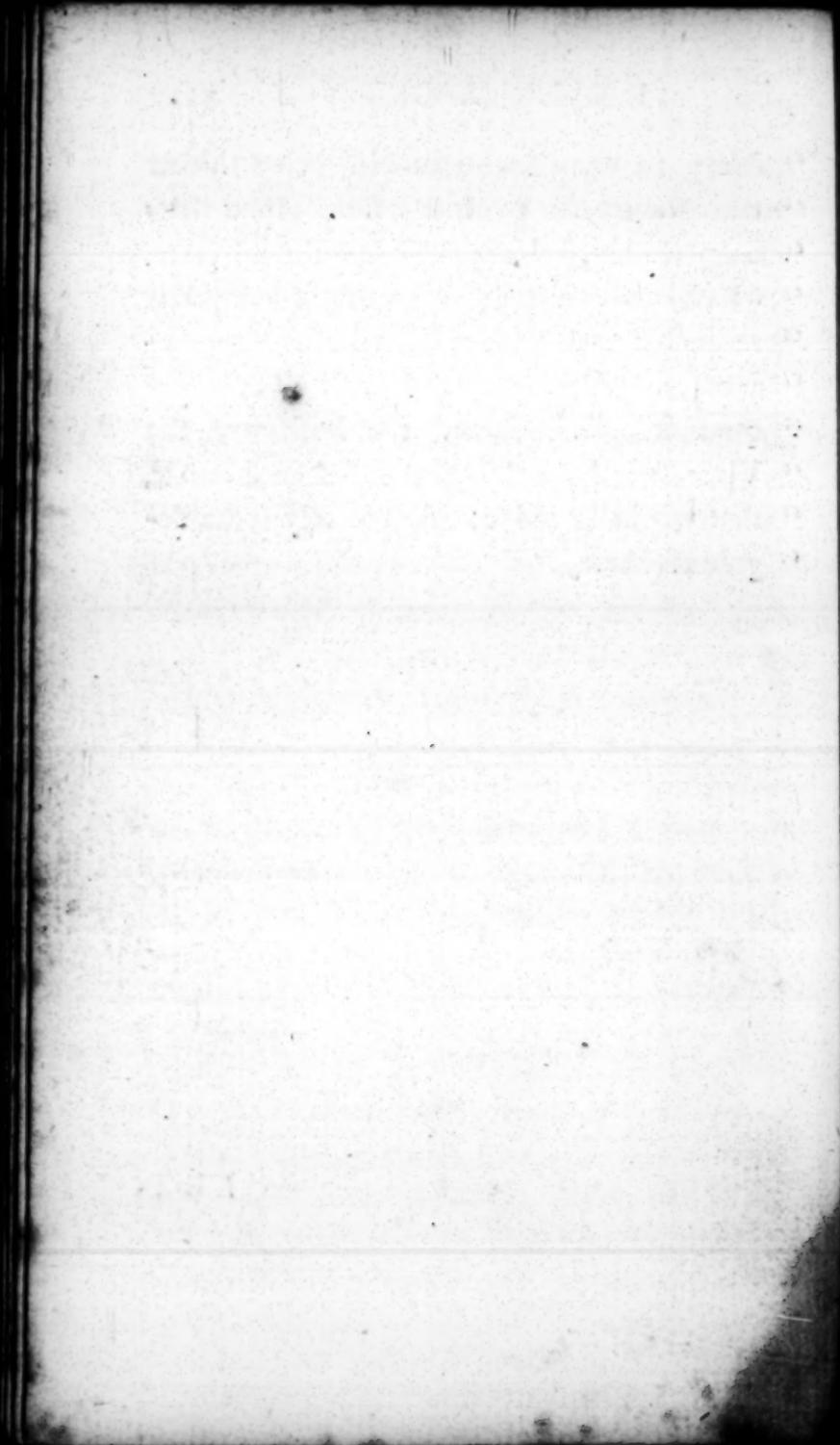
I SHALL conclude this preface with a quotation, applicable to the subject from a foreign writer\*, whose essay on the English constitution I beg leave to recommend to the public, as a performance, deep, solid and ingenious.

“ IN short, whoever considers what it is,  
“ that constitutes the moving principle of what  
“ we call great affairs, and the invincible sensi-  
“ bility of man to the opinion of his fellow-  
“ creatures, will not hesitate to affirm it, if it  
“ were possible for the liberty of the press to  
“ exist in a despotic government, and, (what  
“ is not less difficult) for it to exist without  
“ changing the constitution, this liberty of the  
“ press would alone form a counterpoise to the  
“ power of the prince. If, for example, in  
“ an empire of the East, a sanctuary could  
“ be found, which, rendered respectable by the  
“ ancient religion of the people, might insure

“ safety

\* *Monsieur de Lolme.*

“ safety to those, who should bring thither  
“ their observations of any kind ; and that,  
“ from thence, printed papers should issue,  
“ which, under a certain seal, might be equally  
“ respected ; and which, in their daily appear-  
“ ance, should examine and freely discuss, the  
“ conduct of the Cadis, the Bashaws, the  
“ Vizir, the Divan, and the Sultan himself,  
“ that would introduce immediately some de-  
“ gree of liberty.”



# L E T T E R S.

## L E T T E R L

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

January 21, 1769.

THE submission of a free people to the executive authority of government, is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, cheerful, and I might almost say unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that

Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment, to see such a temper insulted and abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have been treachery to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer will be our resentment, if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves!

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion, and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of enquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers; and, if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted, with moderation.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry,

we need only observe the condition of the people, if we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps there was never an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary as that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these very few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious Sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and contented people. If the personal virtues of a king could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though

it has not yet produced the many salutary effects which were intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such a plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces ;—it was not a natural turn for low intrigue ; nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, Sir, it arose from a continued anxiety, in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been answerable to the design. After a rapid succession of changes, we are reduced to that state, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress, which of itself ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder but the physician ;—it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befals us.

\* The finances of a nation, sinking under its debts

\* The Duke of Grafton took the office of Secretary of State, with an engagement to support the Marquis of Rockingham's

debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auspices of lord Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident; but deserting the principles and professions, which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design. As for business, the world yet knows nothing of his talents or resolution; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said perhaps, that it is his grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to distribute than to save the public money, and that while lord North is Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of Treasury may be as thoughtless and as extravagant as he pleases. I hope however he will not rely too much on the fertility of lord North's genius for finance. His lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities: it may be candid to suppose that

ingham's administration. He resigned however in a little time, under pretence that he could not act without lord Chatham, nor bear to see Mr. Wilkes abandoned; but that under lord Chatham he would act in any office. This was the signal of lord Rockingham's dismissal. When Lord Chatham came in, the Duke got possession of the Treasury. Reader, mark the consequence!

that he has hitherto voluntarily concealed his talents; intending perhaps to astonish the world when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources, equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget, that, since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think seriously of consequences, before he ventures to increase the public debt. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years peace, to see new millions borrowed, without any eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the Civil List, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict enquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer to think of some better expedient than a lottery. To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery may perhaps be allowable; but, besides that is at all times

times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the Royal dignity, to have the debts of a court provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge, or a decayed hospital. The management of the king's affairs in the House of Commons cannot be more disgraced than it has been. \*A leading minister repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance ;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn ;—deliberate plans disconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not adequate idea of lord North's parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune of being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was neither an object of derision to his enemies, nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series of inconsistent measures has alienated the Colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debts. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire,

\* This happened frequently to poor Lord North.

empire, which had benefited most by the expences of the war, should contribute something to the expences of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise the contribution. But, unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was minister, and Mr. Pitt \* and lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the Colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

Under one administration the stamp act is made, under the second it is repealed, under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the Colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the Plantations, and the earl of Hillsborough called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches as far as they have appeared, let his measures as far as they have operated, determine for him.

\* Yet Junius has been called the partisan of Lord Chatham !

him. In the former we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered, that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the Colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition\*, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question; if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force

VOL. I

C. may

\* That they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it.

may perhaps be spared to support the earl of Hillsborough's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismission of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by an argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the Secretary's office. Lord Rochford was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the southern courts: Lord Weymouth was equally qualified for either department\*. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments, and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord Weymouth had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited,

\* It was pretended that the Earl of Rochford, while ambassador in France, had quarrelled with the duke of Choiseul, and that therefore he was appointed to the Northern department, out of compliment to the French minister.

rited, if not judicious conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties, in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious spirit of the house of Bedford : No, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate, on which, for aught he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported from the best of his judgment.

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the Commander in Chief\*, at the expence of his understanding. They who love him make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character.

\* The late lord Granby.

racter. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments ; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name of *Manners* ; and, neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the present Commander in Chief is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord ; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independance of a man of spirit, not the servile, humiliating complaisance of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing ? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of Commander in Chief into a broker of commissions ?

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expence should be spared to secure him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission

submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right and wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himself, when the court had no interest, was an upright judge. A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge, under the influence of government, may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported openly by the power of government, or masked under the forms of a court of justice. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most

most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way which the real spirit of the laws will not justify. The facts on which these marks are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view behold a nation overwhelmed with debt; her revenues wasted; her trade declining; the affections of her Colonies alienated; the duty of the magistrate transferred to the soldiery; a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow-subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit; and, in the last instance, the administration of justice becomes odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits but of one addition—that we are governed by counsels, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death.

If, by the immediate interposition of providence, it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair, posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom:

they

they will not believe it possible that their ancestors could have survived, or recovered from so desperate a condition, while a duke of Grafton was Prime Minister, a lord North Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Weymouth and a Hillsborough Secretaries of State, a Granby Commander in Chief, and a Mansfield Chief criminal Judge of the kingdom.'

J U N I U S .

It is difficult to conceive what a man must have done to himself to become an object of such contempt and abhorrence. It is equally difficult to conceive what a man must have done to himself to deserve such a punishment. A man who has committed such a series of crimes, and who has been condemned to remain in prison for life, and to suffer corporal punishment, cannot easily be made to feel that he has suffered enough. He has committed an offence which he considers as a trifling one, and which he considers as a mere technicality. He has committed an offence which he considers as a trifling one, and which he considers as a mere technicality. He has committed an offence which he considers as a trifling one, and which he considers as a mere technicality. He has committed an offence which he considers as a trifling one, and which he considers as a mere technicality. He has committed an offence which he considers as a trifling one, and which he considers as a mere technicality. He has committed an offence which he considers as a trifling one, and which he considers as a mere technicality.

L E T -

## LETTER II.

A LETTER OF SIR WILLIAM DRAPER TO THE  
PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

January 26, 1769.

**T**HE kingdom swarms with such numbers of felonious robbers of private character and virtue, that no honest or good man is safe; especially as these cowardly base assassins stab in the dark, without having the courage to sign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer, who signs himself Junius, in the Public Advertiser of the 21st instant, opens the deplorable situation of his country in a very affecting manner; with a pompous parade of his candour and decency, he tells us, that we see dissensions in all parts of the empire, an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, and a total loss of respect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boasted candour, has not told us the real cause of the evils he so pathetically enumerates. I shall take the liberty to explain the cause for him. Junius, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischief complained

complained of, by falsely and maliciously traducing the best characters in the kingdom. For when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poisonous and inflammatory libels that are daily published with impunity, to vilify those who are any way distinguished by their good qualities and eminent virtues : when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to these slanderous tongues and pens, their conclusion is, that both the minister and the nation have been fairly described ; and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to stand forth, and endeavour to undeceive the public, when the vilest arts are made use of to defame and blacken the brightest characters amongst us. An eminent author affirms it to be almost as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced, without attempting his justification, as to be the author of the calumny against him. For my own part, I think it is a sort of misprision of treason against society. No man therefore who knows lord Granby, can possibly hear so good and great a character most vilely abused, without a warm and just indignation against this Junius, the high-priest of envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our beloved Commander in Chief at the altars of his

horrid deities. Nor is the injury done to his lordship alone, but to the whole nation, which may too soon feel the contempt, and consequently the attacks of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe that the person, on whom the safety of these kingdoms so much depends, is unequal to his high station, and destitute of those qualities which form a good general. One would have thought that his lordship's services in the cause of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his most glorious conclusion of the late war, might have entitled him to common respect and decency at least; but this uncandid, indecent writer, has gone so far as to turn one of the most amiable men of the age into a stupid, unfeeling, and senseless being; possessed indeed of a personal courage, but void of those essential qualities which distinguish the commander from the common soldier.

A very long uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a most disinterested friendship with lord Granby gives me the right to affirm, that all Junius's assertions are false and scandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brightest and most ardent kind, is among the lowest of his numerous good qualities; he was formed to excel in war by nature's liberality to his mind as well as person. Educated and instructed by his most noble

noble father, and a most spirited as well as excellent scholar, the present bishop of Bangor, he was trained to the nicest sense of honour, and to the truest and noblest sort of pride, that of never doing or suffering a mean action. A sincere love and attachment to his king and country, and to their glory, first impelled him to the field, where he never gained aught but honour. He impaired, through his bounty, his own fortune; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depreciate, is founded upon the noblest of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodness from the most refined humanity. Can a man, who is described as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be constantly employed in seeking proper objects on whom to exercise those glorious virtues of compassion and generosity? The distressed officer, the soldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long list besides, know that vanity has no share in his frequent donations; he gives, because he feels their distresses. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand to be bountiful with the other; yet this uncandid Junius, would insinuate that the dignity of the Commander in Chief is depraved into the base office of a commission broker; that is, lord Granby bargains for the sale of commissions; for it must have this meaning,

if it has any at all. But where is the man living who can justly charge his lordship with such mean practices? Why does not Junius produce him? Junius knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from some missile weapon, shot from an obscure corner: he seeks, as all such defamatory writers do,

—*spargere voces*  
*In Vulgum ambiguas*—

to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame, and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the same common ruin with themselves. Hence it is, that they are constantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwarks of our national safety. Lord Granby was too conspicuous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promises and engagements: where are Junius's proofs? Although I could give some instances, where a breach of promise would be virtue, especially in the case of those who will pervert the open unsuspecting

suspecting moments of convivial mirth, into sly, insidious applications for preferment, or party systems, and would endeavour to surprise a good man, who cannot bear to see any one leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises. Lord Granby's attention to his own family and relations is called selfish. Had he not attended to them, when fair and just opportunities presented themselves, I should have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron? It is unfair to suppose that lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man: If he is generous at the public expence, as Junius invidiously calls it, the public is at no more expence for his lordship's friends, than it would be if any other set of men possessed those offices. The charge is ridiculous!

The last charge against lord Granby is of a most serious and alarming nature indeed. Junius asserts, that the army is mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit. The present condition of the army gives the direst lie to his assertions. It was never upon a more respectable footing with regard to discipline, and all the essentials that

can

can form good soldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our safeties into lord Granby's hands, who has kept it in the same good order in which he received it. The strictest care has been taken to fill up the vacant commissions, with such gentlemen as have the glory of their ancestors to support, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cause of their king and country, from motives of private property, as well as public spirit. The Adjutant-general, who has the immediate care of the troops after lord Granby, is an officer who would do great honour to any service in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good sense and discernments upon all occasions, and for a punctuality and precision which give the most entire satisfaction to all who are obliged to consult him. The Reviewing-generals, who inspect the army twice a year, have been selected with the greatest care, and have answered the important trust reposed in them in the most laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than those of Junius, whom I do advise, to atone for his shameful aspersions, by asking pardon of lord Granby and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his abominable scandals. In short, to turn Junius's own battery against him

him, I must assert in his own words, " That he has given strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation."

## WILLIAM DRAPER.

## LETTER III.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE  
BATH.

SIR,

February 7, 1769.

YOUR defence of lord Granby does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel, as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you express yourself in the warmest language of the passions. In any other cause, I doubt not, you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But here, I presume, you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding; as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *coup de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow, but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and, far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them

to

to the account of an honest unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern. I approve of the spirit, with which you have given your name to the public; and, if it were a proof of any thing but spirit, I should have thought myself bound to follow your example. I should have hoped that even my name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir William Draper.

You begin with a general assertion, that writers, such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious pen of a political writer is able to produce such important effects? A little calm reflection might have shewn you, that national calamities do not rise from the description, but from the real character and conduct of ministers. To have supported your assertion, you should have proved that the present ministry are unquestionably the *best and brightest* characters of the kingdom; and that, if the affections of the Colonies have been alienated, if Corsica has been shamefully abandoned, if commerce languishes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla Ransom most disho-

nourably given up, it has all been owing to the malice of political writers, who will not suffer the best and brightest characters (meaning still the present ministry) to take a single right step for the honour or interest of the nation. But it seems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conscience insinuated to you, that it would be prudent to leave the characters of Grafton, North, Hillsborough, Weymouth, and Mansfield, to shift for themselves; and truly, Sir William, the part you have undertaken is at least as much as you are equal to.

Without disputing lord Granby's courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge Nature has been so very liberal to his mind. If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some instances of able disposition and well-concerted enterprize, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a general. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear awkward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced suit of tawdry qualifications which Nature never intended him to wear.

You say, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the Ordinance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing?

Where

Where he got these *notbings* I know not; but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them.

As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as Commander in Chief; and though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I still assert that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army, when I say that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but parliamentary interests, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. As to this servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service. Did he not betray the just interest of the army, in permitting lord Percy to have a regiment? and does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes.

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit, that he often makes such

promises as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more assiduous to provide for his relations at the public expence. I did not urge the last as an absolute vice in his disposition, but to prove that a *careless disinterested spirit* is no part of his character; and as to the other, I desire it may be remembered, that *I* never descended to the indecency of inquiring into his *convivial hours*. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken pains to present your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober. None but an intimate friend, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy, disgraceful moments, could have described him so well.

The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that, in this article, your first fact is false, and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in classical language, are pleased

pleased to call a palladium) into lord Granby's hands. It was taken from him, much against his inclination, some two or three years before lord Granby was Commander in Chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton ? The reports of Reviewing-generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are perhaps in some tolerable order. But do you know any thing of the troops in the West-Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland ? Inquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publish your next panegyric upon lord Granby, and believe me you will find there is a fault at head-quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the Adjutant-general cannot correct.

Permit me now, Sir William, to address myself personally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correspondence. You are by no means undeserving of notice ; and it may be of consequence even to lord Granby to have it determined, whether or no the man, who has praised him so lavishly, be himself deserving of praise. When  
you

you returned to Europe, you zealously undertook the cause of that gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla your own fortune had been established. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla Ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the ministry suggest any motives to you, strong enough to tempt a man of honour to desert and betray the cause of his fellow-soldiers? Was it that blushing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your person? or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing unprecedented among soldiers) sold to colonel Gisborne? or was it that government, the full pay of which you are contented to hold, with the half-pay of an Irish colonel? And do you now, after a retreat not very like that of Scipio, presume to intrude yourself, unthought of, uncalled for, upon the patience of the public? Are your flatteries of the Commander in Chief directed to another regiment, which you may again dispose of on the same honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I should be sorry to stop your preferment.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER IV.

**A LETTER OF SIR WILLIAM DRAPER TO JUNIUS.**

SIR,

February 17, 1769.

I received Junius's favour last night; he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his mask; it is an excellent protection, it has saved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honest enough to lay it aside, avow himself, and produce the face which has so long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing such infamous invectives. His real name will discover his freedom and independency, or his servility to a faction. Disappointed ambition, resentment for defeated hopes, and desire of revenge, assume but too often the appearance of public spirit; but be his designs wicked or charitable, Junius should learn that it is possible to condemn measures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage against men. Junius delights to mangle carcases with a hatchet; his language and in-

instrument have a great connexion with Clare-market, and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the Savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in once more to shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask Junius, by what forced analogy and construction, the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise? He must have culled all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate, to have produced such a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet descends with ten-fold vengeance; but, alas! it hurts no one but its master! For Junius must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

My friend's political engagements I know not, so cannot pretend to explain them, or assert their consistency. I know not whether Junius be considerable enough to belong to any party; if he should be so, can he affirm that he has always adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure that he has never sided with those whom he was first hired to abuse? Has he never abused those he

was

was hired to praise ? To say the truth, most men's politics fit much too loosely about them. But as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controversy to that I shall return.

Junius asks, what instances my friend has given of his military skill and capacity as a general ? When and where he gained his honour ? When he deserved his emoluments ? The united voice of the army which served under him, the glorious testimony of prince Ferdinand, and of vanquished enemies, all Germany will tell him. Junius repeats the complaints of the army against parliamentary influence. I love the army too well, not to wish that such influence were less. Let Junius point out the time when it has not prevailed. It was of the least force in the time of that great man, the late duke of Cumberland, who, as a Prince of the Blood, was able as well as willing to stem a torrent which would have overbore any private subject. In time of war this influence is small. In peace, when discontent and faction have the surest means to operate, especially in this country, and when, from a scarcity of public spirit, the wheels of government are rarely moved, but by the power and force of obligations, its weight is always too great. Yet if this influence at present has done no greater

instrument have a great connexion with Clare-market, and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the Savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in once more to shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask Junius, by what forced analogy and construction, the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise ? He must have culled all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate, to have produced such a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet descends with ten-fold vengeance ; but, alas ! it hurts no one but its master ! For Junius must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

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harm than the placing earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think that either the rights or best interests of the army are sacrificed and betrayed; or the nation undone. Let me ask Junius, if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by seniority? I feel myself happy in seeing young noblemen of illustrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional security to the kingdom from foreign or domestic slavery. Junius needs not be told, that should the time ever come, when this nation is to be defended only by those, who have nothing more to lose than their arms and their pay, its danger will be great indeed. A happy mixture of men of quality with soldiers of fortune, is always to be wished for. But the main point is still to be contended for, I mean the discipline and condition of the army, and I still must maintain, though contradicted by Junius, that it was never upon a more respectable footing, as to all the essentials that can form good soldiers, than it is at present. Junius is forced to allow that our army at home may be in some tolerable order; yet how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invasion of Ireland, by assuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! (The colonels of that army are much obliged to him.) I have too great an opinion  
of

of the military talents of the Lord Lieutenant, and of their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If from some strange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to consult their own security, by such an effectual augmentation, as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the Commander in Chief here to blame? Or is he to blame, because the troops in the Mediterranean, in the West-Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from that scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms! Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions, their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom, or, more precariously, by Catholicks from Ireland. We are likewise subject to the fatal drains to the East-Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation can only be repaired by a long peace, or by some sensible bill of naturalization.

I must now take the liberty to talk to Junius on my own account. He is pleased to tell me that he addresses himself to me *personally*. I shall be glad to see him. It is his *impersonally* that I complain of, and his invisible attacks; for his dagger in the air, is only to be regarded, because one can-

not see the hand which holds it ; but had it not wounded other people more deeply than myself, I should not have obtruded myself at all on the patience of the public..

Mark how a plain tale shall put him down, and transfuse the blush of my ribband into his own cheeks. Junius tells me, that at my return, I zealously undertook the cause of the gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were established ; that I complained, that I even appealed to the public in print. I did so ; I glory in having done so, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spanish memorial, and to assert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewise, that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. Junius asks by what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to the injured troops, the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence ? I will explain the cause to the public. The several ministers who have been employed since that time, have been very desirous to do us justice from two most laudable motives, a strong inclination to assist injured bravery, and to acquire a well deserved popularity to themselves. Their efforts have been

in

in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this distressed nation in another war for our private concerns. In short, our rights for the present, are sacrificed to national convenience ; and I must confess, that although I may loose five-and-twenty thousand pounds by their acquiescence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they are in the right to temporize, considering the critical situation of this country, convulsed in every part by poison infused by anonymous, wicked, and incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the justice to own, that in September last, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the admiral Sir S. Cornish and myself, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordship was as frank upon the occasion as other Secretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us, by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

Junius would basely insinuate, that my silence may have been purchased by my government, by my *blushing* ribband, by my regiment, by the sale of that regiment, and by half-pay as an Irish colonel.

His Majesty was pleased to give me my government, for my service at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his

his Majesty, by lord Egremont, informed me that I should have the first vacant red ribband, as a reward for my services in an enterprize, which I had planned as well as executed. The duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed those assurances many months before the Spaniards had protested the ransom bills. To accommodate lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancies until the duke of Grafton and lord Rockingham were joint ministers, I was then honoured with the order, and it is surely no small honour to me, that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it ; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East-Indies, his Majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring afterwards are foreign to the purpose ; let it suffice, that his Majesty was pleased to approve of them ; they are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and fickle climates, will give the best constitutions in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to colonel Gisborne, a very good

good officer, for his half pay, 220l. Irish annuity; so that according to Junius, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and sacrifice those brave men by the strange avarice of accepting three hundred and eighty pounds *per annum*, and giving up eight hundred ! If this be bribery, is it not the bribery of these times ? As to my flattery, those who know me will judge of it. By the asperity of Junius's stile, I cannot indeed call him a flatterer, unless it be as a cynick or a mastiff ; if he wags his tail, he will still growl, and long to bite. The public will now judge of the credit that ought to be given to Junius's writings, from the falsities that he has insinuated with respect to myself.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

L E T -

## L E T T E R V.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER KNIGHT OF THE  
BATH.

S I R,

February, 21, 1769.

I Should justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to lord Granby, if I continued to give you fresh materials or occasion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who despise, have read *your* letters, Sir William, with infinitely more satisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his reputation, like that unhappy country to which you refer me for his last military atchievements, has suffered more by his friends than his enemies. In mercy to him, let us drop the subject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious, as it was certainly well intended ; and you, I think, may be satisfied with the warm acknowledgments he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece,

in

in which, but for your amicable assistance, he might have passed without particular notice or distinction.

In justice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in seeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With respect to lord Percy, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aid de camp to the king, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it made him richer, and probably at the expence of some brave, deserving, friendless officer.—The other concerns yourself. After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier? The plain evidence of facts is superior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a distress to government;—from that moment you were silent. The conclusion is inevitable. You insinuate to us that your ill state of health obliged you to quit the service. The retirement necessary to repair a broken constitution, would have been as good a reason for not accepting, as for resigning the command of a

regiment. There is certainly an error of the press, or an affected obscurity in this paragraph, where you speak of your bargain with colonel Gisborne. Instead of attempting to answer what I really do not understand, permit me to explain to the public what you really know. In exchange for your regiment, you ~~excepted~~ of a colonel's half-pay (at least 220l. a year) and an annuity of 200l. for your own and lady Draper's life jointly.—And is this the loosing bargain, which you would represent to us, as if you had given up an income of 800 l. a year for 380l.? Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himself a soldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and to turn the highest honour of an active profession, into a sordid provision for himself and his family? It were unworthy of me to press you farther. The contempt with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, assures me that as your conduct was not justified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The last and most important question remains. When you receive your half-pay, do you or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon honour to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under*

*bit*

*bis Majest. The charge which this question plainly conveys against you, is of so shocking a complexion, that I sincerely wish you may be able to answer it well, not merely for the colour of your reputation, but for your own inward peace of mind.*

J U N I U S.

P. S. I had determined to leave the Commander in Chief in the quiet enjoyment of his friend and his bottle ; but Titus deserves an answer, and shall have a compleat one.

## LETTER VI.

A LETTER OF SIR WILLIM DRAPER TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

February 25, 1769.

I have a very short answer for Junius's important question : I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no *place* of profit, *civil* or *military*, when I receive the half pay as an Irish colonel. My most gracious Sovereign gives it me as a pension ; he was pleased to think I deserved it. The annuity of 200 l. Irish, and the equivalent for the half-pay together, produces no more than 380 l. *per annum*, clear of fees and perquisites of office. I receive 167 l. from my government of Yarmouth. Total 547 l. *per annum*. My conscience is much at ease in these particulars ; my friends need not blush for me.

Junius makes much and frequent use of interrogations : they are arms that may be easily turned against himself. I could, by malicious interrogation, disturb the peace of the most virtuous man in .

in the kingeom ? I could take the decalogue, and say to one man, Did you never steal ? To the next, Did you never commit murder ? and to Junius himself, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear *false witness* against thy *neighbour* ? Junius must easily see, that unless he affirms to the contrary in his real name, some people who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to suspect him of having deviated a little from the truth : therefore let Junius ask no more questions. You bite against a file : cease viper.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

LET.

## LETTER VII.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE  
BATH.

SIR,

March 3, 1769.

**A**N academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Masks, hatchets, racks, and vipers, dance through your letters in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion. These are the gloomy companions of a disturbed imagination; the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration. I will not contend with you in point of composition. You are a scholar, Sir William, and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that style of interrogation, which suits my capacity, and to which, considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection. Even \* Mr. Bingley promises to answer, if put to the torture.

Do

\* This man, being committed by the court of King's Bench for a contempt, voluntarily made oath, that he would never answer interrogatories, unless he should be put to the torture.

Do you then really think that, if I were to ask a *most virtuous man* whether he ever committed theft, or murder, it would disturb his peace of mind? Such a question might perhaps discompose the gravity of his muscles, but I believe it would little affect the tranquillity of his conscience. Examine your own breast, Sir William, and you will discover, that reproaches and enquiries have no power to afflict either the man of unblemished integrity or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character which alone is vulnerable: the man, who, without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it

I thank you for your hint of the decalogue, and shall take an opportunity of applying it to some of your most virtuous friends in both houses of parliament.

You seem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; so let it rest. When you are appointed to another, I dare say you will not sell it either for a gross sum, or for any annuity upon lives.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you) that you have been able to clear yourself of a crime, though at the expence of the highest indiscretion. You say that your half-pay was given  
you

you by way of pension. I will not dwell upon the singularity of uniting in your own person two sorts of provision, which in their own nature, and in all military and parliamentary views, are incompatible ; but I call upon you to justify that declaration, wherein you charge your Sovereign with having done an act in your favour notoriously against law. The half-pay, both in Ireland and England, is appropriated by parliament ; and if it be given to persons, who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would have been more decent in you, to have called this dishonourable transaction by its true name ; a job to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you !

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you for ever. Motives very different from any apprehension of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth, you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct, as to be able to set the most malicious inquiries at defiance ;

defiance; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention upon a character, which will only pass without censure, when it passes without observation.\*

## JUNIUS.

\* It has been said, and I believe truly, that it was signified to Sir William Draper, at the request of Lord Granby, that he should desist from writing in his Lordship's defence. Sir William Draper, certainly drew Junius forward to say more of Lord Granby's character, than he originally intended. He was reduced to the dilemma of either being totally silenced, or of supporting his first letter. Whether Sir William had a right to reduce him to this dilemma, or to call upon him for his name, after a voluntary attack on his side, are questions submitted to the candour of the public.—The death of Lord Granby was lamented by Junius. He undoubtedly owed some compensations to the public, and seemed determined to acquit himself of them. In private life, he was unquestionably that good man, who, for the interest of his country, ought to have been a great one. *Bonum virum facile dixeris;—magnum libenter.* I speak of him now without partiality;—I never spoke of him with resentment. His mistakes, in public conduct, did not arise either from want of sentiment, or, want of judgment, but in general from the difficulty of saying no to the bad people who surrounded him.

As for the rest, the friends of Lord Granby should remember, that he himself thought proper to condemn, retract, and disavow, by a most solemn declaration in the House of Commons, that very system of political conduct, which Junius had held forth, to the disapprobation of the public.

## LETTER VIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

*March 18, 1769.*

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English government, not unwillingly admitted by the people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative should be placed to the account of the minister; but that whenever an act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit should be attributed to the Sovereign himself\*. It was a wise doctrine, my lord, and equally advantageous to the King and his subjects; for while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than diminish their attachment to the person of their Sovereign. If there be not a fatallity attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excesses of folly has it happened, that those ungracious

\* Le rois ne se font reserve que les graces. Ils renvoient les condamnations vers leurs officers. Montesquieu.

ous acts, which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity in a quarter, where no such interest or enmity can be supposed to exist, without the highest injustice and the highest dishonour ? On the other hand, by what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy, to which you ever advised your Sovereign, so far from adding to the lustre of a character truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust ! I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious one, and as your measure, my Lord Duke, because you are the minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending, it was natural enough that government should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honourable service for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made a common cause between your grace and him. The minister, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom. They have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice

to your grace's humanity, you felt for Mac Quirk as you ought to do, and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied every duty of political friendship, without wounding the honour of your Sovereign, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted and condemned ;—when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character, was it not hazarding too much, to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country \* ? You ought to have known that

\* Whitehall, March 11, 1769. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend his royal mercy to Edward M<sup>c</sup> Quirk, found guilty of the murder of George Clarke, as appears by his royal warrant to the tenor following.

#### GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a doubt had arisen in Our Royal breast concerning the evidence of the death of George Clarke, from the representations of William Bromfield, Esq; Surgeon, and Solomon Starling, Apothecary ; both of whom, as has been represented to Us, attended the deceased before his death, and expressed their opinions that he did not die of the

that an example of this sort was never so necessary  
as at present ; and certainly you must have known  
that

the blow he received at Brentford : And whereas it appears to Us, that neither of the said persons were produced as witnesses upon the trial, though the said Solomon Starling had been examined before the coroner, and the only person called to prove that the death of the said Clarke was occasioned by the said blow, was John Foot, Surgeon, who never saw the deceased till after his death; We thought fit thereupon to refer the said representations, together with the report of the Recorder of Our city of London, of the evidence given by Richard and William Beale, and the said John Foot, on the trial of Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, for the Murder of the said Clarke, to the master, wardens, and the rest of the court of examiners of the Surgeons company, commanding them likewise to take such further examination of the said persons so representing, and of said John Foot, as they might think necessary, together with the premisses above-mentioned, to form and report to Us their opinion, " Whether it did or did not appear to them, that the said George Clarke died in consequence of the blow he received in the riot at Brentford on the 8th of December last." And the said court of examiners of the Surgeons company having thereupon reported to Us their opinion, " That it did not appear to them that he did ;" We have thought proper to extend Our royal mercy to him the said Edward Quirk, otherwise Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, and to grant him Our free pardon for the Murder of the said George Clarke, of which he has been found guilty : Our will and pleasure therefore is, That he the said Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk,

that the lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty object. What system of government is this? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous disposition of the lower class of people, yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial perhaps to the military mode of execution, and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by regular course of law. How does it happen,

my

Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, be inserted for the said Murder, in Our first and next general pardon that shall come out for the poor convicts of Newgate, without any condition whatsoever; and that in the mean time you take bail for his appearance, in order to plead Our said pardon. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Our court at St. James's the 10th day of March  
1769, in the ninth of Our reign.

By his Majesty's command,  
R O C H F O R D.

To our trusty and well beloved James  
Eyre, Esq; Recorder of Our city of  
London, the Sheriffs of Our said  
city and county of Middlesex, and  
all others whom it may concern.

my Lord, that, in *your* hands, even the mercy of the prerogative is cruelty and oppression to the subject?

The measure it seems was so extraordinary, that you thought it necessary to give some reasons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

1. You say, that *Messrs. Bromfield and Starling were not examined at Mac Quirk's trial.* I will tell your grace why they were not. They must have been examined upon oath; and it was foreseen, that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the prisoner. Otherwise, is it conceivable that his counsel should neglect to call in such material evidence?

2. You say, that *Mr. Post did not see the deceased until after his death.* A surgeon, my lord, must know very little of his profession. if upon examining a wound, or a contusion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not.—While the party is alive, a surgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas by the death of the patient, he is enabled to consider both cause and effect in one view, and to speak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your grace for the establishment of a new tribunal. Your *inquisitio post mortem*, is

is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention. The only material objection to it is, that if Mr. Foot's evidence was sufficient, because he did not examine the wound till after the death of the party, much less can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen who never saw the body of Mr. Clarke, either before or after his decease, authorise you to supersede the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of the law.

Now, my lord, let me ask you, Has it never occurred to your grace, while you were withdrawing this desperate wretch from that justice which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded against him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whose pardon would have healed all our divisions? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once your grace's friend? Or is it to murderers only that you will extend the mercy of the crown?

These are questions you will not answer. Nor is it necessary. The character of your private life, and the uniform tenour of your public conduct, is an answer to them all.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER IX.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

April 10, 1769.

I have so good an opinion of your Grace's discernment, that when the author of the vindication of your conduct assures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the least authority from your Grace, I should be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which seems to be fixed upon every measure, in which either your personal or your political character is concerned.—Your first attempt to support Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the second ensured success to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary step you took to make Sir James Lowther Lord Paramount of Cumberland, has ruined his interest in that county for ever. The House List of Directors was cursed with the concurrence of government; and even the miserable \* Dingley

VOL I. I could

\* This unfortunate person had been persuaded by the Duke of Grafton to set up for Middlesex, his Grace being determined to seat him in the House of Commons, if he had but a single vote. It happened unluckily, that he could not prevail upon any one freeholder to put him in nomination.

could not escape the misfortune of your Grace's protection. With this uniform experience before us, we are authorised to suspect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bitterest reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and assistance. The author indeed calls God to witness for him, with all the sincerity, and in the very terms of an Irish evidence, *to the best of his knowledge and belief.* My Lord, you should not encourage these appeals to heaven. The pious Prince, from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that at last the people also found it necessary to appeal to heaven in their turn. Your administration has driven us into circumstances of equal distress;—beware at least how you remind us of the remedy.

You have already much to answer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the fool once more in public life, in spite of his years and infirmities, and to shew us, that, as you yourself are a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man who defends you is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefit of experience. To follow such a writer minutely would,

like

like his own periods, be a labour without end. The subject too has been already discussed, and is sufficiently understood. I cannot help observing, however, that, when the pardon of Mac Quirk was the principal charge against you, it would have been but a decent compliment to your Grace's understanding, to have defended you upon your own principles. What credit does a man deserve, who tells us plainly, that the facts set forth in the King's proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted, and that he wishes that those chirurgical reports, which first gave occasion to certain doubts in the royal breast, had not been laid before his Majesty. You see, my Lord, that even your friends cannot defend your actions, without changing your principles, nor justify a deliberate measure of government, without contradicting the main assertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of Mac Quirk had reduced you to a dilemma, in which it was hardly possible for you to reconcile your political interest with your duty. You were obliged either to abandon an active useful partisan, or to protect a felon from public justice. With your usual spirit, you preferred your interest to every other consideration ; and with your usual judgment, you founded your determination upon

the only motives which should not have been given to the public.

I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your Grace can best inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honoured him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connexion with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of those crimes, which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colours of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it, that the first instance you have given us of a scrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation ! For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But, let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to establish a precedent by which the public

public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the kingdom.—Content yourself, my Lord, with the many advantages, which the unfulfilled purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God that you “are “not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.” In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may safely indulge your genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and though you have succeeded in making him a tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

JUNIUS.

A Mo-

A MONODY, OR THE TEARS OF SEDITION ON  
THE DEATH OF JUNIUS.

*Quies tibi Silure furor?*

**A**ND are these periods fill'd with tuneful care,  
Those thoughts which gleam'd with Ciceronian  
fire,  
Are they my *Junius*, pass'd like vulgar air,  
Droop'd is thy plume, to rise on Fame no more?

Thy plume!—it was the harp of song in prose.  
Oft has its numbers sooth'd the felon's ear,  
Oft to its tune my Wilkite heroes rose  
With couch'd tobacco-pipes in acts to spear.

Where now shall stormy *Clodius* and his crew,  
My dear assembly to the midnight hour,  
Ah! where acquire a trumpeter?—since you  
No more shall rouze them with your classic  
pow'r.

Accurs'd *Silurus*! blasted be thy wing!  
That grey Scotch wing which led th' unerring  
dart!  
In virtue's cause could all that's satire sting  
A bosom, which corruption's poison fraught?  
Impossible

Impossible—then hear me, fiends of hell,  
This dark event, this mystery unfold ;  
Poison'd was Junius ? No ; alas ! he fell  
“ Midst arrows dipp'd in ministerial gold.”

Then hear me, rioters, of my command,  
Condemn the villain to a traitor's doom;  
Let none but faithful knaves adorn my band;  
Go, sink this character into his tomb.

Here sunk an assylist, of dubious name,  
Whose tinsel'd page on airy cadence run.  
Friendless, with party—noted, without fame,  
Virtue and vice disclaim'd him as a son.

## POETIKASTOS.

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ed si indid w. - Antipous eva bnow nate bohors  
lant arilla vino nzo i qui ni cutu zo yilqur  
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nemus si yuonntshu si yilqur. marrt bad-ant yuu

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LET-

## LETTER X.

ADDRESSED TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

April 12, 1769.

THE monody on the supposed death of Junius, is not the less poetical for being founded on a fiction. In some parts of it, there is a promise of genius, which deserves to be encouraged. My letter of Monday will, I hope, convince the author that I am neither a partisan of Mr. Wilkes, nor yet bought off by the ministry. It is true I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that *I am in earnest*; because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, Sir, may be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XI.

TO MR. EDWARD WESTON.

SIR,

April 21, 1769.

I SAID you were an old man without the benefit of experience. It seems you are also a volunteer with the stipend of twenty commissions; and at a period when all prospects are at an end, you are still looking forward to rewards, which you cannot enjoy. No man is better acquainted with the bounty of government than you are.

— *ton impudence,*  
*Temeraire vieillard, aura sa recompense.*

But I will not descend to an altercation either with the impotence of your age, or the peevishness of your deseases. Your pamphlet, ingenious as it is, has been so little read, that the public cannot know how far you have a right to give me the lie, without the following citation of your own words.

Page 6— 1. That he is persuaded that the motives, which he (Mr. Weston) has alledged, must appear

VGL I. K. fully.

' fully sufficient, with or without the opinions of  
' the surgeons.

' 2. That those very motives MUST HAVE BEEN  
' the foundation, on which the Earl of Rochford  
' thought proper, &c.

' 3. That he CANNOT BUT REGRET that the  
' Earl of Rochford seems to have thought proper  
' to lay the chirurgical reports before the King, in  
' preference to all the other sufficient motives,' &c.

Let the public determine whither this be defending government on their principles or your own.

The style and language you have adopted are, I confess, not ill suited to the elegance of your own manners, or to the dignity of the cause you have undertaken. Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master requires no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature. The impression they make is immediate and uniform; nor is it possible to mistake his characters, whether they represent the treachery of a minister, or the abused simplicity of a King.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

*April 24, 1769.*

THE system you seemed to have adopted, when Lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, give us no promise of that uncommon exertion of vigour, which has since illustrated your character, and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exercising even those powers, with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvass for the city and country, without all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him. Our gracious Sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity, and of the safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers af-

fected to call alarming, you left the metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder. The security of the Royal residence from insult was then sufficiently provided for in Mr. Conway's firmness and Lord Weymouth's discretion ; while the Prime Minister of Great-Britain, in a rural retirement, and in the arms of faded beauty, had lost all memory of his Sovereign, his country and himself. In these instances you might have acted with vigour, for you would have had the sanction of the laws to support you. The friends of government might have defended you without shame, and moderate men, who wish well to the peace and good order of society, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But these it seems were not occasions worthy of your Grace's interposition. You reserved the proofs of your intrepid spirit for trials of greater hazard and importance ; and now, as if the most disgraceful relaxation of the executive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in excesses still more dangerous, you seem determined to compensate amply for your former negligence ; and to balance the non-execution of the laws with the breach of the constitution. From one extreme you suddenly start to the other, without leaving, between the weakness and the fury of the passions,

one

one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding.

These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour. But the business of the present moment well not suffer me to look back to a series of events, which cease to be interesting or important, because they are succeeded by a measure so singularly daring, that it excites all our attention, and engrosses all our resentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with success. With this precedent before you, with the principles on which it was established, and with a future house of commons, perhaps less virtuous than the present, every county in England, under the auspices of the treasury, may be represented as compleatly as the county of Middlesex. Posterity will be indebted to your Grace for not contenting yourself with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate blessings of your administration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchased nor intimidated. But their solemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they detest may be appointed,

ed, by another choice, to represent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted, that the sheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty\*. The return they made must be legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been censured for making it. With every good-natured allowance for your Grace's youth and inexperience, there are some things which you cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders to adhere to their choice (even supposing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indisputable as that of the house of commons to exclude one of their own members?—nor is it possible for you not to see the wide distance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the positive power of appointing another. The right of expulsion, in the most favourable sense, is no more than the custom of parliament. The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it constitutes a house of commons, which does not represent the people. A house of commons so formed would involve a contradiction  
and

\* Sir Fletcher Norton, when it was proposed to punish the sheriffs, declared in the house of commons that they, in returning Mr. Wilkes, had done no more than their duty.

and the grossest confusion of ideas ; but there are some ministers, my Lord, whose views can only be answered by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in arguments, true in fact.

This measure, my Lord, is however attended with one consequence, favourable to the people, which I am persuaded you did not foresee\*. While the contest lay between the ministry and Mr. Wilkes, his situation and private character gave you advantages over him which common candour, if not the memory of your former friendship should have forbidden you to make use of. To religious men you had an opportunity of exaggerating the irregularities of his past life ;—to moderate men you held forth the pernicious consequences of faction. Men, who with this character, looked no farther than the object before them, were not dis-satisfied at seeing Mr. Wilkes excluded from parliament. You have now taken care to shift the question ; or, rather you have created a new one, in which Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other English gentleman. You have united this country against you on one grand constitutional point, on the decision of which our existence, as a free people, absolutely depends. You have asserted,

\* The reader is desired to mark this prophecy.

asserted, not in words but in fact, that representation in parliament does not depend upon the choice of the freeholder. If such a case can possibly happen once, it may frequently happen; it may happen always:—and if three hundred votes, by any mode of reasoning whatsoever, can prevail against twelve hundred, the same reasoning would equally have given Mr. Luttrell his seat with ten votes, or even with one. The consequence of this attack upon the constitution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dullest apprehension. I trust you will find, that the people of England are neither deficient in spirit nor understanding, though you have treated them, as if they had neither sense to feel, nor spirit to resent. We have reason to thank God and our ancestors, that there never was yet a minister in this country, who could stand the issue of such a conflict; and with every prejudice in favour of your intentions, I see no such abilities in your Grace, as should entitle you to succeed in an enterprize, in which the ablest and basest of your predecessors have found their destruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious master with false representations of the temper and condition of his subjects. You may command a venal vote, because it is the common established appendage of your office. But never hope

hope that the freeholders will make a tame surrender of their rights, or that an English army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their first duty, as citizens, is paramount to all subsequent engagements, nor will they prefer the discipline or even the honours of their profession to those sacred original rights, which belonged to them before they were soldiers, and which they claim and possess as the birth-rights of Englishmen.

Return, my Lord, before it is too late, to that easy insipid system, which you first set out with. Take back your mistress\*;—the name of friend may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and persecution. Indulge the people. Attend Newmarket. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his seat; and Mr. Wilkes, if not persecuted, will soon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive is safer than to be daring and criminal; and wide is the distance between a riot of the populace and a convulsion of the whole kingdom. You may live to make the experiments, but no honest man can wish you would survive it.

JUNIUS.

\* The Duke, about this time, had separated himself from Ann Parsons, but proposed to continue united with her, on some platonic terms of friendship, which she rejected with contempt. His baseness to this woman is beyond description or belief.

## LETTER XIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

*May 30, 1769.*

**I**F the measures in which you have been most successful, had been supported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I should have thought my time not ill employed, in continuing to examine your conduct as a minister, and stating it fairly to the public, but when I see questions of the highest national importance carried as they have been, and the first principles of the constitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confess, I give up the cause in despair. The meanest of your predecessors had abilities sufficient to give a colour to their measures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer a direct insult to their understanding; and, in former times, the most venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the minister, that he should furnish them with some plausible pretences for selling their [country

country and themselves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious system of government and logic. You neither address yourself to the passions, nor to the understanding, but simply to the touch. You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquishing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your Grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to consider your character and conduct merely as a subject of curious speculation.—There is something in both, which distinguishes you not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied, but that the first uniform principle, or, if I may so call it, the genius of your life, should have carried you through every possible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue ; and that the wildest spirit of inconsistency, should never once have betrayed you into a wise or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of singularity to your fortune, as well as to your disposition:

Let

Let us look back together to a scence, in which a mind like yours will find nothing to repent of. Let us try, my Lord, how well you have supported the various relations in which you stood, to your Sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourself. Give us, if it be possible, some excuse to posterity, and to ourselves, for submitting to your administration. If not the abilities of a great minister, if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, shew us, at least, the firmness of a man.—For the sake of your mistress, the lover shall be spared. I will not lead her into public, as you have done, nor will I insult the memory of departed beauty. Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine

The character of the reputed ancestors of some men, has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Those of your Grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue, even to their legitimate posterity, and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you. You have better proofs of your descent, my Lord, than the register of a marriage, or any troublesome inhe-

ritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features of the human face. Charles the First lived and died a hypocrite. Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived and blended in your Grace. Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion, and, for aught I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You have already taken your degrees with credit in those schools, in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord Chatham's protection\*. From Newmarket, White's, and the opposition he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve:—grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business; too young for treachery; and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political

\* To understand these passages, the reader is referred to a noted pamphlet, called, *The history of the minority*.

itical wonder and attachment; yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham. When the Duke of Cumberland's first negotiations failed, and when the favourite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration, in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still however he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world, why you consented to act without him, or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him. You complained that no measures were taken to satisfy your patron, and that your friend Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power; yet, I think, Lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied? and as for Mr. Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greatest misfortune of his life, that you should have so many compensations to make in the closet for your former friendship with him. Your gracious master understands your character, and makes you a persecutor because you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head

of

of the Treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which he found you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration, which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a prospect of friendships better suited to your genius, and more likely to fix your disposition. Marriage is the point on which every rake is stationary at last; and truly, my Lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the Scorpion, in which you stung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a Virgin\* in the house of Bloomsbury. One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or, at least, that such a friendship as the Duke of Bedford's might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late duchess with his nephew †. But ties of this tender nature cannot be drawn too close; and it may possibly be a part of the Duke of Bedford's ambition, after  
making

\* His Grace had lately married Miss Wrottesley, niece of the Good Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford.

† Miss Liddell, after her divorce from the Duke, married Lord Upper Ossory.

making *her* an honest woman, to work a miracle of the same fort upon your Grace. This worthy Nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family; and, in the way of traffic, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity. You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet; and if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie may possibly remember what use the Duke of Bedford usually makes of his power; and our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late Majesty, under the unhappy influence of a family connexion between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe, with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his master from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment to the painful representation of the necessity of the royal service, and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission.

submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connexions, creating interests, collecting a party, and laying the foundation of double marriages, until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependant upon his pleasure, finds him at last too strong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your Grace's public conduct, as a minister, is but the counter-part of your private history, the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the Stamp Act, on principles of convenience, to Mr. Pitt's surrender of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact; then back again to Lord Rockingham's declaration of the right; then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and in the last instance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the Duke of Bedford: yet if we may believe the simplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next sessions, you are once more to be the patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great minister? Or is it the ominous vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion of your own, my Lord? Or was it the gratification of be-

traying every party with which you have been united, and of deserting every political principle, in which you had concurred ?

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable system of provincial government. They will find gratification enough in the survey of your domestic and foreign policy.

If, instead of disowning lord Shelburne, the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know, my Lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were justified in treating you with contempt : they would probably have yielded in the first instance rather than hazard a rupture with this country ; but being once engaged, they cannot retreat without dishonour. Common sense foresees consequences which have escaped your Grace's penetration. Either we suffer the French to make an acquisition, the importance of which you have probably no conception of, or we oppose them by an underhand management, which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose of policy or prudence. From secret, indirect assistance, a transition to some more open decisive measures becomes unavoidable, till at last we find ourselves principal in the war, and

are

are obliged to hazard every thing for an object, which might have originally been obtained without expence or danger. I am not versed in the politics of the north ; but this I believe is certain, that half the money you have distributed to carry the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, or even your secretary's share in the last subscription, would have kept the Turks at your devotion. Was it œconomy, my Lord ? Or did the coy resistance you have constantly [met with in the British senate, make you despair of corrupting the Divan ? Your friends indeed have the first claim upon your bounty, but if five hundred pounds a year can be spared in pension to Sir John Moore, it would not have disgraced you to have allowed something to the secret service of the public.

You will say perhaps that the situation of affairs at home demanded and engrossed the whole of your attention. Here, I confess, you have been active. An amiable, accomplished prince ascends the throne, under the happiest of all auspices, the acclamations and united affections of his subjects. The first measures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite, were not able to shake their attachment. *Your* services, my Lord, have been more successful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of

of a system of government at once both odious and contemptible. We have seen the laws sometimes scandalously relaxed, sometimes violently stretched beyond their tone. We have seen the sacred person of the Sovereign insulted ; and in profound peace, and with an undisputed title, the fidelity of his subjects brought by his own servants into public question\*. Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Lord Bute could accomplish, with all Scotland at his heels.

Your Grace, little anxious either perhaps for present or future reputation, will not desire to be handed down in these colours to posterity. You have reason to flatter yourself that the memory of your administration will survive even the forms of a constitution, which our ancestors vainly hoped would be immortal ; and as for your personal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, suppose that you can wish to have it remembered. The condition of the present times is desperate indeed ; but there is a debt due to those who come after us, and it is the historian's office to punish, though he cannot correct. I do  
not

\* The wise Duke, about this time, exerted all the influence of government to procure addresses to satisfy the king of the fidelity of his subjects. They came in very thick from Scotland ; but after the appearance of this letter, we heard no more of them.

not give you to posterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter ; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wise or honest minister should avoid, I mean to make you a negative instruction to your successors for ever.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

June 12, 1769.

THE Duke of Grafton's friends, not finding it convenient to enter into a contest with *Junius*, are now reduced to the last melancholy resource of defeated argument, the flat general charge of scurrility and falsehood. As for his style, I shall leave it to the critics. The truth of his facts is of more importance to the public. They are of such a nature, that I think a bare contradiction will have no weight with any man, who judges for himself. Let us take them in the order in which they appear in his last letter.

1. Have not the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution been openly invaded, and the very name of an election made ridiculous by the arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell?

2. Did not the Duke of Grafton frequently lead his mistress into public, and even place her at the head

head of his table, as if he had pulled down an ancient temple of Venus, and could bury all decency and shame under the ruins?—Is this the man who dares to talk of Mr. Wilkes's morals?

3. Is not the character of his presumptive ancestors as strongly marked in him, as if he had descended from them in a direct legitimate line? The idea of his death is only prophetic; and what is prophecy but a narrative preceding the fact?

4. Was not Lord Chatham the first who raised him to the rank and post of a minister, and the first whom he abandoned?

5. Did he not join with Lord Rockingham, and betray him?

6. Was he not the bosom friend of Mr. Wilkes, whom he now pursues to destruction?

7. Did he not take his degrees with credit at Newmarket, White's and the opposition?

8. After deserting Lord Chatham's principles, and sacrificing his friendship, is he not now closely united with a set of men, who, tho' they have occasionally joined with all parties, have in every different situation, and at all times, been equally and constantly detested by this country?

9. Has not Sir John Moore a pension of five hundred pounds a year?—This may probably be an acquaintance of favours upon the turf? but is

it

it impossible for a minister to offer a grosser outrage to a nation, than which has so lately cleared away the beggary of the civil list, at the expence of more than half a million ?

10. Is there any one mode of thinking or acting with respect to America, which the Duke of Grafton has not successively adopted and abandoned ?

11. Is there not a singular mark of shame set upon this man, who has so little delicacy and feeling as to submit to the opprobrium of marrying a near relation of one who had debauched his wife ? —In the name of decency, how are these amiable cousins to meet at their uncle's table ? —It will be a scene in Oedipus, without the distrefs.—Is it wealth, or wit, or beauty,—or is the amorous youth in love ?

The rest is notorious. That Corsica has been sacrificed to the French ; that in some instances the laws have been scandalously relaxed, and in others daringly violated ; and that the King's subjects have been called upon to assure him of their fidelity, in spite of the measures of his servants.

A writer, who builds his arguments upon facts such as these, is not easily to be confuted. He is not to be answered by general assertions, or general reproaches. He may want eloquence to amuse and persuade, but, speaking truth, he must always convince.

PHILO JUNIUS.

## LETTER XV.

ADDRESSED TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 June, 1769.

THE name of *Old Noll* is destined to be the ruin of the house of *Stuart*. There is an ominous fatality in it, which even the spurious descendants of the family cannot escape. Oliver Cromwell had the merit of conducting Charles the first to the block. Your correspondent OLD NOLL appears to have the same design upon the Duke of Grafton. His arguments consist better with the title he has assumed, than with the principles he professes ; for though he pretends to be an advocate for the duke, he takes care to give us the best reasons, why his patron should follow the example of his presumptive ancestor.—Through the whole course of the Duke of Grafton's life, I see a strange endeavour to unite contradictions, which cannot be reconciled. He marries to be divorced ;—he keeps a mistress to remind him of conjugal endearments, and he chooses such friends, as it is virtue in him to desert. If it were possible for the genius

of that accomplished president, who pronounced sentence upon Charles the first, to be revived in some modern sycophant \*, his Grace I doubt not would by sympathy discover him among the dregs of mankind, and take him for a guide in those paths, which naturally conduct a minister to the scaffold.

The assertion that two-thirds of the nation approve of the *acceptance* of Mr. Luttrell (for even *Old Noll* is too modest to call it an election) can neither be maintained nor confuted by argument. It is a point of fact, on which every English gentleman will determine for himself. As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, and I confess I have not that opinion of their knowledge or integrity, to think it necessary that they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question. With respect to the appointment of Mr. Luttrell, the chancellor has never yet given any authentic opinion. Sir Fletcher Norton is indeed an honest, a very honest man ; and the Attorney General is *ex officio* the guardian of liberty, to take care, I presume, that it shall never break out into a criminal excess. Doctor Blackstone is Solicitor to the Queen.

The

\* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the name of Bradshaw.

The Doctor recollects that he had a place to preserve, though he forgot that he had a reputation to lose. We have now the good fortune to understand the Doctor's principles, as well as writings. For the defence of truth, of law, and reason, the Doctor's book may be safely consulted; but whoever wishes to cheat a neighbour of his estate, or to rob a country of his rights, needs make no scruple of consulting the Doctor himself.

The example of the English nobility may, for aught I know, sufficiently justify the Duke of Grafton, when he indulges his genius in all the fashionable excesses of the age; yet, considering his rank and station, I think it would do him more honour to be able to deny the fact, than to defend it by such authority. But if vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain display of it, a certain outrage to decency, and violation of public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven. It is not that he kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly attended her abroad.—It is not the private indulgence, but the public insult of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known, if the first Lord of the Treasury had not led her in triumph through the Opera House, even in the presence of the Queen. When we see a man act

in this manner, we may admit the shameless depravity of his heart, but what are we to think of his understanding?

His Grace it seems is now to be a regular domestic man, and as an omen of the future delicacy and correctness of his conduct, he marries the first cousin of a man, who had fixed that mark and title of infamy upon him, which at the same moment, makes a husband ridiculous. The ties of consanguinity may possibly preserve him from the same fate a second time, and as to the distress of meeting, I take for granted the venerable uncle of these common cousins has settled the Etiquette in such a manner, that, if a mistake should happen, it may reach no farther than from *Madame ma femme* to *Madame ma cousine*.

The Duke of Grafton has always some excellent reason for deserting his friends.—The age and incapacity of Lord Chatham;—the debility of Lord Rockingham;—or the infamy of Mr. Wilkes. There was a time indeed when he did not appear quite so well acquainted, or so violently offended with the infirmities of his friends. But now I confess they are not ill exchanged for the youthful, vigorous virtue of the Duke of Bedford;—the firmness of General Conway;—the blunt, or if I may call it, the awkward integrity of Mr. Rigby, and the spotless morality of Lord Sandwich.

If a late pension to a \* broken gambler be an act worthy of commendation, the Duke of Grafton's connections will furnish him with many opportunities of doing praise-worthy actions; and as he himself bears no part of the expence, the generosity of distributing the public money for the support of virtuous families in distress will be an unquestionable proof of his Grace's humanity.

As to the public affairs, *Old Noll* is a little tender of descending to particulars. He does not deny that Corsica has been sacrificed to France, and he confesses that, with regard to America, his patron's measures have been subject to some variation; but then he promises wonders of stability and firmness for the future. These are mysteries, of which we must not pretend to judge by experience; and truly, I fear we shall perish in the Desart, before we arrive at the Land of Promise. In the regular course of things, the period of the Duke of Grafton's ministerial manhood should now be approaching. The imbecility of his infant state was committed to Lord Chatham. Charles Townshend took some care of his education at that ambiguous age, which lies between the follies of political childhood, and the vices of puberty. The empire of the passions soon succeeded. His earliest principles

\* Sir John Moore.

ciples and connexions were of course forgotten or despised. The company he has lately kept has been of no service to his morals; and, in the conduct of public affairs, we see the character of his time of life strongly distinguished. And obstinate ungovernable self-sufficiency plainly points out to us that state of imperfect maturity, at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may in time grow wiser and reform; but, if I understand his disposition, it is not of such corrigible stuff, that we should hope for any amendment in him, before he has accomplished the destruction of this country. Like other rakes, he may perhaps live to see his error, but not until he has ruined his estate.

PHILO JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XVI.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON,

MY LORD,

July 8, 1769.

If nature had given you an understanding qualified to keep pace with the wishes and principles of your heart, she would have made you, perhaps, the most formidable minister that ever was employed, under a limited monarch, to accomplish the ruin of a free people. When neither the feelings of shame, the reproaches of conscience, nor the dread of punishment, form any bar to the designs of a minister, the people would have too much reason to lament their condition, if they did not find some resource in the weakness of his understanding: We owe it to the bounty of Providence, that the completest depravity of the heart is sometimes strangely united with a confusion of the mind, which counteracts the most favorite principles, and makes the same man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving. The measures, for instance, in which your Grace's activity

activity has been chiefly exerted, as they were adopted without skill, should have been conducted with more than common dexterity. But truly, my Lord, the execution has been as gross as the design. By one decisive step, you have defeated all the arts of writing. You have fairly confounded the intrigues of opposition, and silenced the clamours of faction. A dark, ambiguous system might require and furnish the materials of ingenious illustration, and; in doubtful measures, the virulent exaggeration of party must be employed, to rouse and engage the passions of the people. You have now brought the merits of your administration to an issue, on which every Englishman, of the narrowest capacity, may determine for himself. It is not an alarm to the passions, but a calm appeal to the judgment of the people upon their own most essential interests. A more experienced minister would not have hazarded a direct invasion of the first principles of the constitution, before he had made some progress in subduing the spirit of the people. With such a cause as yours, my Lord, it is not sufficient that you have the court at your devotion, unless you can find means to corrupt or intimidate the jury. The collective body of the people form that jury, and from their decision there is but one appeal.

Whether

Whether you have talents to support you, at a crisis of such difficulty and danger, should long since have been considered. Judging truly of your disposition, you have perhaps mistaken the extent of your capacity. Good faith and folly have so long been received for synonymous terms, that the reverse of the proposition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himself a man of abilities. It is the apprehension of your friends, my Lord, that you have drawn some hasty conclusion of this sort, and that a partial reliance upon your moral character has betrayed you beyond the dept of your understanding. You have now carried things too far to retreat. You have plainly declared to the people what they are to expect from the continuance of your administration. It is time for your Grace to consider what you also may expect in return from *their* spirit and *their* resentment.

Since the accession of our most gracious Sovereign to the throne, we have seen a system of government, which may well be called a reign of experiments. Parties of all denominations have been employed and dismissed. The advice of the ablest men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected; and when the royal displeasure has been signified to a minister, the marks

of it have usually been proportioned to his abilities and integrity. The spirit of the favourite had some apparent influence upon every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration, as long as they submitted to that influence. But there were certain services to be performed for the Favourite's security, or to gratify his resentments, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom or the virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham have successively had the honour to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants of the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station. A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests and connexions: and nothing remained but to find a leader for these gallant well-disciplined troops. Stand forth, my Lord, for thou art the man. Lord Bute found no resource of dependance or security in the proud imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville, nor in the mild but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham. His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties;

parties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the caput mortuum of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole administration. Your circumstances with regard to the people soon becoming desperate, like other honest servants, you determined to involve the best of masters in the same difficulties with yourself. We owe it to your Grace's well directed labours, that your Sovereign has been persuaded to doubt of the affections of his subjects, and the people to suspect the virtues of their Sovereign, at a time when both are unquestionable. You have degraded the royal dignity into a base, dishonourable competition with Mr. Wilkes, nor had you abilities to carry even the last contemptible triumph over a private man, without the grossest violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution and rights of the people. But these are rights, my Lord, which you can no more annihilate than you can the soil to which they are annexed. The question no longer turns upon points of national honour and security abroad, or on the degrees

degrees of expedience and propriety of measures at home. It was not inconsistent that you should abandon the cause of liberty in another country, which you had persecuted in your own; and in the common arts of domestic corruption, we miss no part of Sir Robert Walpole's system except his abilities. In this humble imitative line, you might have long proceeded, safe and contemptible.—You might probably have risen to the dignity of being hated, — and even have been despised with moderation. — But it seems you meant to be distinguished, and to a mind like yours, there was no other road to fame but by the destruction of a noble fabric, which you thought had been too long the admiration of mankind. The use you have made of the military force, introduced an alarming change in the mode of executing the laws. The arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell invades the foundation of the laws themselves, as it manifestly transfers the right of legislation from those whom the people have chosen, to those whom they have rejected. With a succession of such appointments, we may soon see a house of commons collected, in the choice of which the other towns and counties of England will have as little share as the devoted county of Middlesex.

Yet

Yet I trust your Grace will find that the people of this country are neither to be intimidated by violent measures, nor deceived by refinements. When they see Mr. Luttrell seated in the house of commons by mere dint of power, and in direct opposition to the choice of a whole county, they will not listen to those subtleties by which every arbitrary exertion of authority is explained into the law and privilege of parliament. It requires no persuasion of argument, but simply the evidence of the senses, to convince them, that to transfer the right of election from the collective to the representative body of the people, contradicts all those ideas of a house of commons, which they have received from their forefathers, and which they already, though vainly perhaps, delivered to their children. The principles on which this violent measure has been defended, have added scorn to injury, and forced us to feel that we are not only oppressed but insulted.

With what force, my Lord, with what protection are you prepared to meet the united detestation of the people of England? The city of London has given a generous example to the kingdom, in what manner a king of this country ought to be addressed; and I fancy, my Lord, it is not yet in your courage to stand between your

Sovereign

Sovereign and the addresses of his subjects. The injuries you have done this country are such as demand not only redress, but vengeance. In vain shall you look for protection to that venal vote, which you have already paid for; another must be purchased; and, to save a minister, the house of commons must declare themselves not only independent of their constituents, but the determined enemies of the constitution. Consider, my Lord, whether this be an extremity to which their fears will permit them to advance; or, if their protection should fail you, how far you are authorised to rely upon the sincerity of those smiles, which a pious court lavishes without reluctance upon a libertine by profession. It is not indeed the least of the thousand contradictions which attend you, that a man, marked to the world by the grossest violation of all ceremony and decorum, should be the first servant of a court, in which prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion. Trust not too far to appearances, by which your predecessors have been deceived, though they have not been injured. Even the best of princes may at last discover that this is a contention in which every thing may be lost, but nothing can be gained; and as you became minister by accident, were adopted without choice, trusted without confidence, and

continued

continued without favour, be assured that, whenever an occasion presses, you will be discarded without even the forms of regret. You will then have reason to be thankful, if you are permitted to retire to that seat of learning, which, in contemplation of the system of your life, the comparative purity of your manners with those of their high steward, and a thousand other recommending circumstances, has chosen you to encourage the growing virtue of their youth, and to preside over their education. Whenever the spirit of distributing prebends and bishoprics shall have departed from you, you will find that learned seminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an installation, and, what in truth it ought to be, once more a peaceful scene of slumber and meditation. The venerable tutors of the university will no longer distress your modesty, by proposing you for a pattern to their pupils. The learned dullness of declamation will be silent ; and even the venal muse, though happiest in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred until your morals shall happily be ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which philosophers tell us, the worst examples cease to be contagious.

JUNIUS.

## LETTER XVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

TISER.

SIR,

July 19, 1769.

A Great deal of useless argument might have been saved, in the political contest, which has arisen from the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision, to the satisfaction of each party, and clearly understood by them both. But in this, as in almost every other dispute, it usually happens that much time is lost in referring to a multitude of cases and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpose, or in maintaining propositions, which are either not disputed, or, whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate; until at last the mind, perplexed and confounded with the endless subtleties of controversy, loses sight of the main question, and never arrives at the truth. Both parties in the dispute are apt enough to practise these dishonest artifices. The man who

is conscious of the weakness of his cause, is interested in concealing it: and on the other side it is not uncommon to see a good cause mangled by advocates who do not know the real strength of it.

I should be glad to know, for instance, to what purpose in the present case, so many precedents have been produced to prove, that the house of commons have a right to expel one of their own members; that it belongs to them to judge of the validity of elections; or that the law of parliament is part of the law of the land?\* After all these propositions are admitted, Mr. Luttrell's right to his seat will continue to be just as disputable as it was before. Not one of them is at present in agitation. Let it be admitted that the house of commons were authorised to expel Mr. Wilkes; that they are the proper court to judge of elections, and that the law of parliament is binding upon the people; still it remains to be enquired whether the house, by their resolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell, have or have not truly declared that law. To facilitate this enquiry, I would have the question cleared of all foreign or indifferent matter. The following state of it will

VOL. I. P<sup>1</sup> probably

\* The reader will observe that these admissions are made, not as of truths unquestionable, but for the sake of argument, and in order to bring the real question to issue.

probably be thought a fair one by both parties ; and then I imagine there is no gentleman in this country who will not be capable of forming a judicious and true opinion upon it. I take the question to be strictly this : ‘ Whether or no it be  
‘ the known, established law of parliament, that the  
‘ expulsion of a member of the house of commons  
‘ of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be  
‘ re-elected, that, at a subsequent election, any  
‘ votes given to him are null and void, and that  
‘ any other candidate, who, except the person ex-  
‘ pelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought  
‘ to be the sitting member.’

To prove that the affirmative is the law of parliament, I apprehend it is not sufficient for the present house of commons to declare it to be so. We may shut our eyes indeed to the dangerous consequences of suffering one branch of the legislature to declare new laws, without argument or example, and it may perhaps be prudent enough to submit to authority ; but a mere assertion will never convince, much less will it be thought reasonable to prove the right by the fact itself. The ministry have not yet pretended to such a tyranny over our minds. To support the affirmative fairly it will either be necessary to produce some statute in which that positive provision shall have been made

made, that specific disability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared; or, if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases\* strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them; for I readily admit that the custom of parliament, once clearly proved, is equally binding with the common and statute law.

The consideration of what may be reasonable or unreasonable makes no part of this question. We are enquiring what the law is, not what it ought to be. Reason may be applied to shew the impropriety or expedience of a law, but we must have either statute or precedent to prove the existence of it. At the same time, I do not mean to admit that the late resolution of the house of commons is defensible on general principles of reason, any more than in law. This is not the hinge on which the debate turns.

Supposing therefore that I have laid down an accurate state of the question, I will venture to affirm, 1st. That there is no statute existing by which that specific disability, which we speak of, is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end.

P 2 2dly.

\* Precedents, in opposition to principles, have little weight with Junius; but he thought it necessary to meet the ministry upon their own ground.

2dly. That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the house of commons, which comes entirely home to the present case, viz. 'where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member.' If there be such a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am sure it will have more weight than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities.

The ministry, in that laborious pamphlet which I presume contains the whole strength of the party, have declared\*, 'That Mr. Walpole's was the first and only instance, in which the electors of any county or borough had returned a person expelled to serve in the same parliament.' It is not possible to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and, having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the house that he might be the sitting member. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our house of commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law however was the same. It came regularly before the house, and it was

\* Case of the Middlesex election considered, page 38.

was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it, for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*. If it be said that they meant this resolution as matter of favour and indulgence to the borough, which had retorted Mr. Walpole upon them, in order that the burgesses, knowing what the law was, might correct their error, I answer,

I. That it is a strange way of arguing to oppose a supposition, which no man can prove, to a fact which proves itself.

II. That if this were the intention of the house of commons, it must have defeated itself. The burgesses of Lynn could never have known their error, much less could they have corrected it, by any instruction they received from the proceedings of the house of commons. They might perhaps have foreseen, that, if they returned Mr. Walpole again, he would again be rejected; but they never could infer, from a resolution by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared *not duly elected*, that, at a future election, and in similar circumstances, the house of commons would reverse their resolution, and receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected.

This

This indeed would have been a most extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I presume no man, whose understanding is not at cross purposes with itself, could possibly understand.

If, in a case of this importance, I thought myself at liberty to argue from suppositions rather than from facts, I think the probability, in this case, is directly the reverse of what the ministry affirm; and that it is much more likely that the house of commons at that time would rather have strained a point in favour of Mr. Taylor, than that they would have violated the law of parliament and robbed Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, to gratify a refractory borough, which, in defiance of them, had returned a person branded with the strongest mark of the displeasure of the house.

But really, Sir, this way of talking, for I cannot call it argument, is a mockery of the common understanding of the nation, too gross to be endured. Our dearest interests are at stake. An attempt has been made, not merely to rob a single county of its rights, but, by inevitable consequence, to alter the constitution of the house of commons. This fatal attempt has succeeded, and stands as a precedent recorded for ever. If the ministry

ministry are unable to defend their cause by fair argument founded on facts, let them spare us at least the mortification of being amused and deluded like children. I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in this country, which will not submit to be oppressed ; but I am sure there is a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot be deceived.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## L E T T E R . XVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Augt. 1, 1769.

**I**T will not be necessary for Junius to take the trouble of answering your correspondent G. A. or a quotation from a speech without doors, published in your paper of the 28th of last month. The speech appeared before Junius's letter, and as the author seems to consider the great proposition, on which all his argument depends, viz. *That Mr. Wilkes was under that known legal incapacity, of which Junius speaks as a point granted,* his speech is, in no shape, an answer to Junius, for this is the very question in debate.

As to G. A. I observe first, that if he did not admit Junius's state of the question, he should have shewn the fallacy of it, or given us a more exact one;—secondly, that, considering the many hours and days, which the ministry and their advocates have wasted, in public debate, in compiling large quartos, and collecting innumerable precedents,

cedents, expressly to prove that the late proceedings of the house of commons are warranted by the law, custom, and practice of parliament, it is rather an extraordinary supposition, to be made by one of their own party, even for the sake of argument, *that no such statute, no such custom of parliament, no such case in point can be produced.* G. A. may however make the supposition with safety. It contains nothing, but literally the fact, except that there is a case exactly in point, with a decision of the house, diametrically opposite to that which the present house of commons came to in favour of Mr. Luttrell.

The ministry now begin to be ashamed of the weakness of their cause, and, as it usually happens with falsehood, are driven to the necessity of shifting their ground, and changing their whole defence. At first we were told that nothing could be clearer than that the proceedings of the house of commons were justified by the known law and uniform custom of parliament. But now it seems, if there be no law, the house of commons have a right to make one, and if there be no precedent, they have a right to create the first;—for this I presume is the amount of the questions proposed to Junius. If your correspondent had been at all versed in the law of parliament, or generally in

the laws of this country, he would have seen that this defence is as weak and false as the former.

The privileges of either house of parliament, it is true, are indefinite, that is, they have not been described or laid down in any one code or declaration whatsoever ; but whenever a question of privilege has arisen, it has invariably been disputed or maintained upon the footing of precedents alone \*.—In the course of the proceedings upon the Aylsbury election, the house of lords resolved,—“ That neither house of parliament had “ any power, by any vote or declaration, to “ create to themselves any new privilege that was “ not warranted by the known laws and customs “ of parliament.” And to this rule the house of commons, though otherwise they had acted in a very arbitrary manner, gave their assent, for they affirmed that they had guided themselves by it, in asserting their privileges.—Now, Sir, if this be true with respect to matters of privilege, in which the house of commons, individually and as a body, are principally concerned, how much more strongly will it hold against any pretended power in that house,

\* This is still meeting the ministry on their own ground; for, in truth, no precedents will support either natural injustice, or violation of positive right.

house, to create or declare a new law, by which not only the rights of the house over their own member, and those of the member himself are concluded, but also those of a third and separate party, I mean the freeholders of the kingdom. To do justice to the ministry, they have not yet pretended that any one or any two of the three estates have power to make a new law, without the concurrence of the third. They know that a man who maintains such a doctrine, is liable, by statute, to the heaviest penalties. They do not acknowledge that the house of commons have assumed a *new privilege*, or declared a *new law*.—On the contrary, they affirm that their proceedings have been strictly conformable to and founded upon the ancient law and custom of parliament. Thus therefore the question returns to the point, at which Junius has fixed it, viz. *Whether or no this be the law of parliament*. If it be not, the house of commons had no legal authority to establish the precedent ; and the precedent itself is a mere fact, without any proof of right whatsoever.

Your correspondent concludes with a question of the simplest nature : *Must a thing be wrong, because it has never been done before?* No. But, admitting it were proper to be done, that alone does not convey an authority to do it. As to the

present case, I hope I shall never see the time, when not only a single person, but a whole country, and in effect the entire collective body of the people may again be robbed of their birth-right by a vote of the house of commons. But if, for reasons which I am unable to comprehend, it be necessary to trust that house with a power so exorbitant and so unconstitutional, at least let it be given to them by an act of the legislature.

PHILO JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XIX.

TO DR. WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, SOLICITOR  
GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY..

SIR,

July 29, 1769.

I Shall make you no apology for considering a certain pamphlet, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourself. The personal interest, the personal resentments, and above all, that wounded spirit, unaccustomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conscious of deserving it, are signals which betray the author to us as plainly, as if your name were in the title-page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual is interesting to society. On this principle the people of England made a common cause with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if you are injured, they will join in your resentment. I shall not follow you through the insipid form of a third person, but address myself to you directly.

You seem to think the channel of a pamphlet more respectable and better suited to the dignity of

of your cause, than that of a news-paper. Be it so. Yet if news-papers are scurrilous, you must confess they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the ministry, as well as the abusive dulness of the opposition. The scales are equally poised. It is not the printer's fault if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more consistent perhaps with your professed intentions, to have confined yourself to the last. But anger has some claim to indulgence, and railing is usually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville, upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being personally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely master of all the facts. I need not run the risque of doing an injustice to his opinions, or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your first reflection is, that Mr. Grenville\* was,  
of

\* Mr. Grenville had quoted a passage from the Doctor's excellent commentaries, which directly contradicted the doctrine maintained by the Doctor in the house of commons.

of all men, the person, who should not have complained of inconsistence with regard to Mr. Wilkes. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, if it means any thing, you plainly beg the question; for whether his parliamentary conduct with regard to Mr. Wilkes, has or has not been inconsistent, remains yet to be proved. But it seems he received upon the spot a sufficient chastisement for exercising *so unfairly* his talents of misrepresentation. You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, upon what particular occasions a talent for misrepresentation may be *fairly* exerted; but to punish a man a second time, when he has been once sufficiently chastised, is rather too severe. It is not in the laws of England; it is not in your own commentaries, nor is it yet, I believe, in the new law you have revealed to the house of commons. I hope this doctrine has no existence but in your own heart. After all, Sir, if you had consulted that sober discretion, which you seem to oppose with triumph, to the honest jollity of a tavern, it might have occurred to you that, although you could have succeeded in fixing a charge of inconsistence upon Mr. Grenville, it would not have tended in any shape to exculpate yourself.

Your next insinuation, that Sir William Meredith

dith had hastily adopted the false glosses of his new ally, is of the same sort with the first. It conveys a sneer as little worthy of the gravity of your character, as it is useless to your defence. It is of little moment to the public, to enquire by whom the charge was conceived, or by whom it was adopted. The only question we ask is, whether or not it be true. The remainder of your reflections upon Mr. Grenville's conduct, destroy themselves. He could not possibly come prepared to traduce your integrity to the house. He could not foresee that you would even speak upon the question, much less could he foresee that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine, which you had solemnly, disinterestedly, and upon soberest reflection delivered to the public. He came armed indeed with what he thought a respectable authority, to support what he was convinced was the cause of truth, and I doubt not he intended to give you, in the course of the debate, an honourable and public testimony of his esteem. Thinking highly of his abilities, I cannot however allow him the gift of divination. As to what you are pleased to call a plan coolly formed to impose upon the house of commons, and his producing it without provocation at midnight, I consider it as the language of pique and invective, therefore

therefore unworthy of regard. But, Sir, I am sensible I have followed your example too long, and wandered from the point.

The quotation from your commentaries is matter of record. It can neither be *altered* by your friends, nor misrepresented by your enemies, and I am willing to take your own word for what you have said in the house of commons. If there be a real difference between what you have written and what you have spoken, you confess that your book ought to be the standard. Now, Sir, if words mean any thing, I apprehend that, when a long enumeration of disqualifications (whether by statute or the custom of parliament) concludes with these general comprehensive words, ‘but subject to these restrictions and disqualifications, every subject of the realm is eligible of common right,’ a reader of plain understanding must of course rest satisfied that no species of disqualification whatsoever had been omitted. The known character of the author, and the apparent accuracy with which the whole work is compiled, would confirm him in his opinion; nor could he possibly form any other judgment, without looking upon your commentaries in the same light in which you consider those penal laws, which though not re-

pealed, are fallen into disuse, and are now in effect **A SNAKE TO THE UNWARY.**\*

You tell us indeed that it was not part of your plan to specify any temporary incapacity, and that you could not, without a spirit of prophecy, have specified the disability of a private individual, subsequent to the period at which you wrote. What your plan was I know not; but what it should have been, in order to compleat the work you have given us, is by no means difficult to determine. The incapacity, which you call temporary, may continue seven years; and though you might not have foreseen the particular case of Mr. Wilkes, you might and should have foreseen the possibility of *such* a case, and told us how far the house of commons were authorised to proceed in it by the law and custom of parliament. The freeholders of Middlesex would then have known what they had to trust to, and would never have returned Mr. Wilkes, when colonel Luttrell was candidate against him. They would have chosen some indifferent person rather than submit to be represented by the object of their contempt and detestation.

Your

\* If, in stating the law upon any point, a judge deliberately affirms that he has included every case, and it should appear that he has purposely omitted a material case, he does in effect lay a snare for the unwary.

Your attempt to distinguish between disabilities, which affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy of your understanding. Your commentaries had taught me that, although the instance, in which a penal law is exerted, be particular, the laws themselves are general. They are made for the benefit and instruction of the public, though the penalty falls only upon an individual. You cannot but know, Sir, that what was Mr. Wilkes's case yesterday, may be your's or mine to-morrow, and that consequently the common right of every subject of the realm is invaded by it. Professing therefore to treat of the constitution of the house of commons, and of the laws and customs relative to that constitution, you certainly were guilty of a most unpardonable omission, in taking no notice of a right and privilege of the house, more extraordinary and more arbitrary than all the others they possess put together. If the expulsion of a member, not under any legal disability, of itself creates in him an incapacity to be elected, I see a ready way marked out, by which the majority may at any time remove the honestest and ablest men who happen to be in opposition to them. To say that they *will not* make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man

so learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they *have* the power, and laws you know are intended to guard against what men *may* do, not to trust to what they *will* do.

Upon the whole, Sir, the charge against you is of a plain, simple nature; it appears even upon the face of your own pamphlet. On the contrary, your justification of yourself is full of subtlety and refinement, and in some places not very intelligible. If I were personally your enemy, I should dwell, with a malignant pleasure, upon those great and useful qualifications, which you certainly possess, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country. I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced: but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

14 August, 1769.

A Correspondent of the St. James's Evening Post first wilfully misunderstands Junius, then censures him for a bad reasoner. Junius does not say that it was incumbent upon Doctor Blackstone to foresee and state the crimes, for which Mr. Wilkes was expelled. If, by a spirit of prophecy, he had even done so, it would have been nothing to the purpose. The question is, not for what particular offences a person may be expelled, but generally whether by the law of parliament expulsion alone creates a disqualification. If the affirmative be the law of parliament, Doctor Blackstone might and should have told us so. The question is not confined to this or that particular person, but forms one great general branch of disqualification, too important in itself, and too extensive in its consequences to be omitted in an accurate work expressly treating of the law of parliament.

The

The truth of the matter is evidently this. Doctor Blackstone, while he was speaking in the house of commons, never once thought of his Commentaries, until the contradiction was unexpectedly urged, and stared him in the face. Instead of defending himself upon the spot, he sunk under the charge, in an agony of confusion and despair. It is well known that there was a pause of some minutes in the house, from a general expectation that the Doctor would say something in his own defence; but it seems, his faculties were too much overpowered to think of those subtleties and refinements, which have since occurred to him. It was then Mr. Grenville received that severe chastisement, which the Doctor mentions with so much triumph. *I wish the honourable gentleman, instead of shaking his head, would shake a good argument out of it.* If to the elegance, novelty, and bitterness of this ingenious sarcasm, we add the natural melody of the amiable Sir Fletcher Norton's pipe, we shall not be surprised that Mr. Grenville was unable to make him any reply.

As to the Doctor, I would recommend it to him to be quiet. If not, he may perhaps hear again from Junius himself.

PHILO JUNIUS.

Postscript to a Pamphlet intitled, 'An Answer to  
 'the Question stated.' Supposed to be written  
 by Dr. Blackstone, Solicitor to the Queen, in  
 answer to Junius's Letter.

SINCE these papers were sent to press, a writer in the public papers, who subscribes himself Junius, has made a feint of bringing this question to a short issue. Though the foregoing observations contain in my opinion, at least, a full refutation of all that this writer has offered, I shall, however, bestow a very few words upon him. It will cost me very little trouble to unravel and expose the sophistry of his argument.

'I take the question,' says he, 'to be strictly  
 'this: Whether or no it be the known established  
 'law of parliament, that the expulsion of a mem-  
 'ber of the house of commons of itself, creates  
 'in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that,  
 'at a subsequent election, any votes given to him  
 'are null and void; and that any other candidate,  
 'who, except the person expelled, has the great-  
 'est number of votes, ought to be the sitting  
 'member.'

Waving

Waving for the present any objection I may have to this state of the question, I shall venture to meet our champion upon his own ground ; and attempt to support the affirmative of it, in one of the two ways, by which he says it can be alone fairly supported. ‘ If there be no statute, says he, in which ‘ the specific disability is clearly created, &c. (and ‘ we acknowledge there is none) the custom of par- ‘ liament must then be referred to, and some case or ‘ cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the ‘ decision of the court upon them.’ Now I assert, that this has been done. Mr. Walpole’s case is strictly in point, to prove that expulsion creates absolute incapacity of being re-elected. This was the clear decision of the house upon it ; and was a full declaration, that incapacity was the necessary consequence of expulsion. The law was as clearly and firmly fixed by this resolution, and is as binding in every subsequent case of expulsion, as if it had been declared by an express statute, ‘ That a member expelled by a resolution of the ‘ house of commons shall be deemed incapable of ‘ being re-elected.’ Whatever doubt then there might have been of the law before Mr. Walpole’s case, with respect to the full operation of a vote of expulsion, there can be none now. The decision of the house upon this case is strictly in point

to.

to prove, that expulsion creates absolute incapacity in law of being re-elected.

But incapacity in law in this instance must have the same operation and effect with incapacity in law in every other instance. Now, incapacity of being re-elected implies in its very terms, that any votes given to the incapable person, at a subsequent election, are null and void. This is its necessary operation, or it has no operation at all. It is *vox et præterea nihil*. We can no more be called upon to prove this proposition, than we can to prove that a dead man is not alive, or that twice two are four. When the terms are understood, the proposition is self-evident.

Lastly, It is in all cases of election, the known and established law of the land, grounded upon the clearest principles of reason and common sense, that if the votes given to one candidate are null and void, they cannot be opposed to the votes given to another candidate. They cannot affect the votes of such candidate at all. As they have, on the one hand, no positive quality to add or establish, so have they, on the other hand, no negative one to subtract or destroy. They are, in a word, a mere non-entity. Such was the determination of the house of commons in the Malden and Bedford elections; cases strictly in point to

the present question, as far as they are meant to be in point. And to say that, they are not in point, in all circumstances, in those particularly which are independent of the proposition which they are quoted to prove, is to say no more than that Malden is not Middlesex, nor Serjeant Comyns Mr. Wilkes.

Let us see then how our proof stands. Expulsion creates incapacity; incapacity annihilates any votes given to the incapable person. The votes given to the qualified candidate stand upon their own bottom, firm and untouched, and can alone have effect. This, one would think, would be sufficient. But we are stopped short, and told, that none of our precedents came home to the present case; and are challenged to produce 'a precedent in all the proceedings of the house of commons that does come home to it, viz. where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the fitting member.'

Instead of a precedent, I will beg leave to put a case; which, I fancy, will be quite as decisive to the present point. Suppose another Sacheverel, (and every party must have its Sacheverel) should, at some future election, take it into his head to offer himself a candidate for the county

county of Middlesex. He is opposed by a candidate, whose coat is of a different colour ; but however of a very good colour. The divine has an indisputable majority ; nay, the poor layman is absolutely distanced. The sheriff, after having his conscience well informed by the reverend casuist, returns him, as he supposes, duly elected. The whole house is in an uproar, at the apprehension of so strange an appearance amongst them. A motion however is at length made, that the person was incapable of being elected, that his election therefore is null and void, and that his competitor ought to have been returned. No, says a great orator, First, shew me your law for this proceeding. ‘ Either produce me a statute, in which the specific disability of a clergyman is created ; or, produce me a precedent where a clergyman has been returned, and another candidate with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member. No such statute, no such precedent to be found. What answer then is to be given to this demand ? The very same answer which I will give to that of Junius : That there is more than one precedent in the proceedings of the house—‘ where an incapable person has been returned, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the

' sitting member ; and that this is the known and  
' established law, in all cases of incapacity, from  
' whatever cause it may arise.'

I shall now therefore beg leave to make a slight amendment to Junius's state of the question ; the affirmative of which will then stand thus :

' It is the known and established law of parliament, that the expulsion of any member of the house of commons creates in him an incapacity of being re-elected ; that any votes given to him at a subsequent election are, in consequence of such incapacity, null and void ; and that any other candidate, who, except the person rendered incapable, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member.

But our business is not yet quite finished. Mr. Walpole's case must have a rehearing. ' It is not possible, says this writer, to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the house, that he might be the sitting member. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our house of commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law, however, was the same. It came regularly

'regularly before the house, and it was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it; for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected.*'

Instead of examining the justness of this representation, I shall beg leave to oppose against it my own view of this case, in as plain a manner and as few words as I am able.

It was the known and established law of parliament, when the charge against Mr. Walpole came before the house of commons, that they had power to expel, to disable, and to render incapable for offences. In virtue of this power they expelled him.

Had they, in the very vote of expulsion, adjudged him, in terms, to be incapable of being re-elected, there must have been at once an end with him. But though the right of the house, both to expel, and adjudge incapable, was clear and indubitable, it does not appear to me, that the full operation and effect of a vote of expulsion singly was so. The law in this case had never been expressly declared. There had been no event to call up such a declaration. I trouble not myself with the grammatical meaning of the word expulsion. I regard only its legal meaning. This was not, as I think, precisely fixed. The house thought proper to fix it, and explicitly to declare the full consequences

consequences of their former vote, before they suffered these consequences to take effect. And in this proceeding they acted upon the most liberal and solid principles of equity, justice, and law. What then did the burgesses of Lynn collect from the second vote? Their subsequent conduct will tell us; it will with certainty tell us, that they considered it as decisive against Mr. Walpole; it will also, with equal certainty, tell us, that, upon supposition that the law of election stood then, as it does now, and that they knew it to stand thus, they inferred, ‘that at a future election, and in ‘case of a similar return, the house would receive ‘the same candidate, as duly elected, whom they ‘had before rejected.’ They could infer nothing but this.

It is needless to repeat the circumstance of dissimilarity in the present case. It will be sufficient to observe, that as the law of parliament, upon which the house of commons grounded every step of their proceedings, was clear beyond the reach of doubt, so neither could the freeholders of Middlesex be at a loss to foresee what must be the inevitable consequence of their proceedings in opposition to it. For upon every return of Mr. Wilkes, the house made enquiry, whether any votes were given to any other candidate.

But

But I could venture, for the experiment's sake, even to give this writer the utmost he asks ; to allow the most perfect similarity throughout in these two cases ; to allow, that the law of expulsion was quite as clear to the burgesses of Lynn, as to the freeholders of Middlesex. It will, I am confident, avail his cause but little. It will only prove, that, the law of election at that time was different from the present law. It will prove, that, in all cases of an incapable candidate returned, the law then was, that the whole election should be void. But now we know that this is not law. The cases of Malden and Bedford were, as has been seen, determined upon other and more just principles. And these determinations are, I imagine, admitted on all sides, to be law.

I would willingly draw a veil over the remaining part of this paper. It is astonishing, it is painful, to see men of parts and ability, giving into the most unworthy artifices, and descending so much below their true line of character. But if they are not the dupes of their sophistry, (which is hardly to be conceived) let them consider that they are something much worse.

The dearest interests of this country, are its laws and its constitution. Against every attack upon these, there will, I hope, be always found amongst us

us the firmest *spirit of resistance*, superior to the united efforts of faction and ambition. For ambition, though it does not always take the lead of faction, will be sure in the end to make the most fatal advantage of it, and draw it to his own purposes. But, I trust, our day of trial is yet far off; and there is *a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot long be deceived*, by the arts either of false reasoning or false patriotism.

L E T.

## LETTER XXII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

8 August, 1769.

THE gentleman, who has published an answer to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, having honoured me with a postscript of six quarto pages, which he moderately calls, bestowing *a very few words upon me*, I cannot, in common politeness, refuse him a reply. The form and magnitude of a quarto imposes upon the mind, and men who are unequal to the labour of discussing an intricate argument, or wish to avoid it, are willing enough to suppose, that much has been proved, because much has been said. Mine, I confess, are humble labours. I do not presume to instruct the learned, but simply to inform the body of the people; and I prefer that channel of conveyance, which is likely to spread farthest among them. The advocates of the ministry seem to me to write for fame, and to flatter themselves, that the size of their works will make them immortal.

VOL. I.

T

They

They pile up reluctant quarto upon solid folio, as if their labours, because they were gigantic, could contend with truth and heaven.

The writer of the volume in question meets me upon my own ground. He acknowledges there is no statute, by which the specific disability we speak of is created, but he affirms, that the custom of parliament has been referred to, and that a case strictly in point has been produced, with the decision of the court upon it.—I thank him for coming so fairly to the point. He asserts, that the case of Mr. Walpole is strictly in point to prove that expulsion creates an absolute incapacity of being re-elected; and for this purpose he refers generally to the first vote of the house upon that occasion, without venturing to recite the vote itself. The unfair, disingenuous artifice of adopting that part of a precedent, which seems to suit his purpose, and omitting the remainder, deserves some pity, but cannot recite my resentment. He takes advantage eagerly of the first resolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared; but as to the two following, by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared ‘not duly elected,’ and the election itself vacated, I dare say he would be well satisfied, if they were for ever blotted out of the journals of the

the house of commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given to us together. The author has divided his precedent, for he knew that, taken together, it produced a consequence directly the reverse of that which he endeavours to draw from a vote of expulsion. But what will this honest person say, if I take him at his word, and demonstrate to him, that the house of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity upon his expulsion only ? What subterfuge will then remain ?

Let it be remembered that we are speaking of the intention of men, who lived more than half a century ago, and that such intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record. To prove their designs by a supposition of what they would have done, opposed to what they actually did, is mere trifling and impertinence. The vote, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity was declared, is thus expressed, ‘ That Robert Walpole, Esq; having ‘ been this session of parliament committed a pri- ‘ soner to the Tower, and expelled this house ‘ for a breach of trust in the execution of his ‘ office, and notorious corruption when a secre- ‘ tary at war, was and is incapable of being

' elected a member to serve in this present parliament\*.' Now, Sir, to my understanding, no proposition of this kind can be more evident, than that the house of commons, by this very vote, themselves understood, and meant to declare, that Mr. Walpole's incapacity arose from the crimes he had committed, not from the punishment the house annexed to him. The high breach of trust, the notorious corruption are stated in the strongest terms. They do not tell us he was incapable because he was expelled, but because he had been guilty of such offences as justly rendered him unworthy of a seat in parliament. If they had intended to fix the disability upon his expulsion alone, the mention of his crimes in the same vote would have been highly improper. It could only perplex the minds of the electors, who, if they collected any thing from

\* It is well worth remarking, that the compiler of a certain quarto, called 'The case of the last election for the county of Middlesex considered,' has the impudence to recite this very vote, in the following terms, vide page 11  
" Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq; having been that session of parliament expelled the house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament." There cannot be a stronger positive proof of the treachery of the compiler, nor a stronger presumptive proof that he was convinced that the vote, if truly recited, would overturn his whole argument.

from so confused a declaration of the law of parliament, must have concluded that their representative had been declared incapable because he was highly guilty, not because he had been punished. But even admitting them to have understood it in the other sense, they must then, from the very terms of the vote, have united the idea of his being sent to the Tower with that of his expulsion, and considered his incapacity as the joint effect of both.\*

I do

\*ADDRESSED TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 May, 1771.

VERY early in the debate upon the decision of the Middlesex election, it was observed by Junius, that the house of commons had not only exceeded their boasted precedent of the expulsion and subsequent incapacitation of Mr. Walpole, but that they had not even adhered to it strictly as far as it went. After convicting Mr. Dyson of giving a false quotation from the Journals, and having explained the purpose, which that contemptible fraud was intended to answer, he proceeds to state the vote itself, by which Mr. Walpole's supposed incapacity was declared, viz.—“ Resolved, That Robert Walpole, Esq; having been this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when secretary at war, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament :”—and then observes that, from the terms of the vote,

we

I do not mean to give an opinion upon the justice of the proceedings of the house of commons

we have no right to annex the incapacitation to the expulsion only, for that, as the proposition stands, it must arise equally from the expulsion and the commitment to the Tower. I believe, Sir, no man, who knows any thing of Dialectics, or who understands English, will dispute the truth and fairness of this construction. But Junius has a great authority to support him, which, to speak with the Duke of Grafton, I accidentally met with this morning in the course of my reading. It contains an admonition, which cannot be repeated too often. Lord Sommers, in his excellent tract upon the rights of the people, after reciting the votes of the convention of the 28th of January, 1689, viz.—“ That King James the second, having en-  
“ deavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom  
“ by breaking the original contract between King and peo-  
“ ple, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked per-  
“ sons having violated the fundamental laws, and having  
“ withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, hath abdicated  
“ the government, &c.”—makes this observation upon it.  
“ The word abdicated relates to all the clauses ab foregoing,  
“ as well as to his deserting the kingdom, or else they  
“ would have been wholly in vain.” And that there might be no pretence for confining the abdication merely to the withdrawing, Lord Sommers farther observes, That King James, by refusing to govern us according to that law, by which he held the crown, implicitly renounced his title to it.

If Junius's construction of the vote against Mr. Wal-  
pole be now admitted, (and indeed I cannot comprehend how it can honestly be disputed) the advocates of the house of commons must either give up their precedent entirely,  
or

mons with regard to Mr. Walpole ; but certainly, if I admitted their censure to be well founded, I could or be reduced to the necessity of maintaining one of the grossest absurdities imaginable, viz. " That a commitment to the Tower is a constituent part of, and contributes half at least to the incapacitation of the person who suffers it."

I need not make you any excuse for endeavouring to keep alive the attention of the public to the decision of the Middlesex election. The more I consider it, the more I am convinced that as a fact, it is indeed highly injurious to the rights of the people ; but that as a precedent, it is one of the most dangerous that ever was established against those who are to come after us. Yet I am so far a moderate man, that I verily believe the majority of the house of commons, when they passed this dangerous vote, neither understood the question, nor knew the consequence of what they were doing. Their motives were rather despicable, than criminal, in the extreme. One effect they certainly did not foresee. They are now reduced to such a situation, that if a member of the present house of commons were to conduct himself ever so improperly, and in reality deserved to be sent back to his constituents with a mark of disgrace, they would not dare to expel him ; because they know that the people, in order to try against the great question of right, or to thwart an odious house of commons would probably overlook his immediate unworthiness, and return the same person to parliament.—But, in time, the precedent will gain strength. A future house of commons will have no such apprehensions, consequently will not scruple to follow a precedent, which they did not establish. The miser himself seldom lives to enjoy the fruit of his extortion ; but his heir succeeds him of course, and takes possession without censure. No man expects him to make restitution, and, no matter for his title, he lives quietly upon the estate.

PHILO JUNIUS.

could no way avoid agreeing with them in the consequence they drew from it. I could never have a doubt, in law or reason, that a man, convicted of a high breach of trust, and of a notorious corruption, in the execution of a public office, was and ought to be incapable of sitting in the same parliament. Far from attempting to invalidate that vote, I should have wished that the incapacity declared by it could legally have been continued for ever.

Now, Sir, observe how forcibly the argument returns. The house of commons, upon the face of their proceedings, had the strongest motives to declare Mr. Walpole incapable of being re-elected. They thought such a man unworthy to sit among them.—To that point they proceeded no farther; for they respected the rights of the people, while they asserted their own. They did not infer, from Mr. Walpole's incapacity, that his opponent was duly elected; on the contrary they declared Mr. Taylor ‘Not duly elected,’ and the election itself void.

Such, however, is the precedent, which my honest friend assures us is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion of itself creates an incapacity of being re-elected. If it had been so, the present house of commons should at least have followed

strictly

strictly the example before them, and should have stated to us, in the same vote, the crimes for which they expelled Mr. Wilkes; whereas they resolve simply, that, ‘having been expelled, ‘he was and is incapable.’ In this proceeding I am authorised to affirm, they have neither statute, nor custom, nor reason, nor one single precedent to support them. On the other side, there is indeed a precedent so strongly in point, that all the enchanted castles of ministerial magic fall before it. In the year 1698, (a period which the rankest Tory dare not except against) Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament. The ministry have precluded themselves from all objections drawn from the cause of his expulsion, for they affirm absolutely, that expulsion of itself creates the disability. Now, Sir, let sophistry evade, let falsehood assert, and impudence deny—here stands the precedent, a land-mark to direct us through a troubled sea of controversy, conspicuous and unremoved.

I have dwelt the longer upon the discussion of this point, because, in *my* opinion it comprehends the whole question. The rest is unworthy of notice. We are enquiring whether incapacity be or be not created by expulsion. In the cases of

Bedford and Malden, the incapacity of the persons returned was matter of public notoriety, for it was created by act of parliament. But really, Sir, my honest friend's suppositions are as unfavourable to him as his facts. He well knows that the clergy, besides that they are represented in common with their fellow-subjects, have also a separate parliament of their own? — that their incapacity to sit in the house of commons has been confirmed by repeated decisions of the house, and that the law of parliament, declared by those decisions, has been for above two centuries notorious and undisputed. The author is certainly at liberty to fancy cases, and make whatever comparisons he thinks proper; his suppositions still continue as distant from fact, as his wild discourses are from solid argument.

The conclusion of his book is candid to an extreme. He offers to grant me all I desire. He thinks he may safely admit that the case of Mr. Walpole makes directly against him, for it seems he has one grand solution *in petto* for all difficulties. *If*, says he, *I were to allow all this, it will only prove, that the law of election was different, in Queen Anne's time, from what it is at present.*

This indeed is more than I expected. The principle, I know, has been maintained in fact,  
but

but I never expected to see it so formally declared. What can he mean; does he assume this language to satisfy the doubts of the people, or does he mean to rouse their indignation; are the ministry daring enough to affirm that the house of commons have a right to make and unmake the law of parliament at their pleasure?—Does the law of parliament, which we are so often told is the law of the land?—Does the common right of every subject of the realm depend upon an arbitrary, capricious vote of one branch of the legislature? The voice of truth and reason must be silent.

The ministry tell us plainly that this is no longer a question of right, but of power and force alone. What was law yesterday is not law to-day: and now it seems we have no better rule to live by, than the temporary discretion and fluctuating integrity of the house of commons.

Professions of patriotism are become stale and ridiculous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endeavouring to do a service to my fellow subjects. I have done it to the best of my understanding; and without looking for the approbation of other men, my conscience is satisfied. What remains to be done concerns the collective body of the people. They are now to determine

for themselves, whither they will firmly and constitutionally assert their rights; or make an humble slavish surrender of them at the feet of the ministry. To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights, which they have delivered to our care; we owe it to our posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be insensible of those sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can acquit us,—a personal interest which we cannot surrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil security and freedom is superior to a bare existence; and if life be the bounty of heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which the condition of human nature is not only miserable, but contemptible.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XXIII.

ADDRESSED TO THE PRINTER OF THE  
PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Aug. 22. 1769

I MUST beg of you to print a few lines, in explanation of some passages in my last letter, which I see have been misunderstood.

1. When I said, that the house of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity on his expulsion *only*, I meant no more than to deny the general proposition, that expulsion *alone* creates the incapacity. If there be any thing ambiguous in the expression, I beg leave to explain it by saying, that, in my opinion, expulsion neither creates, nor in any part contributes to create the incapacity in question.

2. I carefully avoided entering into the merits of Mr. Walpole's case. I did not enquire, whether the house of commons acted justly, or whether they truly declared the law of parliament. My remarks went only to their apparent meaning and intention, as it stands declared in their own resolution.

3. I

3. I never meant to affirm, that a commitment to the Tower created a disqualification. On the contrary, I considered that idea as an absurdity into which the ministry must inevitably fall, if they reasoned right upon their own principles.

The case of Mr. Wollaston speaks for itself. The ministry assert that *expulsion alone* creates an absolute, complete incapacity to be re-elected to sit in the same parliament. This proposition they have uniformly maintained, without any condition or modification whatsoever. Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament.—I leave it to the public to determine, whether this be a plain matter of fact, or mere nonsense and declamation.

J U N I U S.

L E T -

## LETTER XXIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

4 Sept. 1769

ARGUMENT against FACT ; or, A new System of political Logic, by which the Ministry have demonstrated, to the satisfaction of their friends, that expulsion alone creates a complete incapacity to be re-elected ; *alias*, that a subject of this realm may be robbed of his common right, by a vote of the House of Commons.

FIRST FACT.

MR. WOLLASTON. *in 1698, was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat.*

ARGUMENT.

As this cannot conveniently be reconciled with our general proposition, it may be necessary to shift our ground, and look back to the *cause* of Mr. Wollaston's expulsion. From thence it will appear clearly that, "although he was expelled,  
" he

" he had not rendered himself a culprit too ignominious to sit in parliament, and that having resigned his employment, he was no longer incapacitated by law." *Vide Serious Considerations, page 23.* Or thus, " The House, somewhat inaccurately, used the word EXPELLED; they should have called it AMOTION." *Vide Mungo's case considered, page 11.* Or in short, if these arguments should be thought insufficient, we may fairly deny the fact, For example; " I affirm that he was not re-elected. The same Mr. Wollafton, who was expelled, was not again elected. The same individual, if you please, walked into the house, and took his seat there, but the same person in law was not admitted a member of that parliament, from which he had been discarded." *Vide Letter to Junius, page 12.*

## SECOND FACT.

*Mr. Walpole having been committed to the Tower, and expelled for a high breach of trust and notorious corruption in a public office, was declared incapable, &c.*

## ARGUMENT.

From the term of this vote, nothing can be more evident than that the House of Commons meant

meant to fix the incapacity upon the punishment, and not upon the crime ; but lest it should appear in a different light to weak, uninformed persons, it may be adviseable to gut the resolution, and give it to the public, with all possible solemnity, in the following terms, viz.—“ Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq; having been that session of parliament expelled the house, was and is incapable of being elected member to serve in that present parliament.” *Vide Mongo, on the use of quotations, page II.*

N. B. The author of the answer to Sir William Meredith seems to have made use of Mongo’s quotation, for in page 18, he assures us, “ That the declaratory vote of the 17th of February, 1769, was indeed a literal copy of the resolution of the house in Mr. Walpole’s case.”

### THIRD FACT.

*His opponent, Mr. Taylor, having the fewest number of votes at the next election, was declared, NOT DULY ELECTED.*

### ARGUMENT.

This fact we consider as directly in point to prove that Mr. Luttrell ought to be the sitting member, for the following reasons. “ The bur-

" burgesses of Lynn could draw no other inference  
" from this resolution, but this, that at a future  
" election, and in case of a singular return, the  
" house would receive the same candidate as duly  
" elected, whom they had before rejected."—

*Vide Postscript to Junius, page 37.* Or thus:—

" This their resolution leaves no room to doubt  
" what part they *would* have taken, if, upon a  
" subsequent re-election of Mr. Walpole, there  
" had been any other candidate in competition  
" with him. For, by their vote, they could have  
" no other intention than to admit such other  
" candidate." *Vide Mongo's case considered, p. 39.*

" Or take it in this light:—The burgesses of  
Lynn having, in defiance of the house, retorted  
upon them a person, whom they had branded  
with the most ignominious marks of their displea-  
sure, were thereby so well intitled to favour and  
indulgence, that the house could do no less than  
rob Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him,  
in order that the burgesses might be apprised of  
the law of parliament; which the house took a  
very direct way of explaining to them, by resolv-  
ing that the candidate with the fewest votes was  
not duly elected;—" And was not this much more  
" equitable, more in the spirit of that equal and  
" substantial justice, which is the end of all law,

" than

" than if they had violently adhered to the strict  
" maxims of law?" *Vide Serious considerations*, p.  
33 and 34. " And if the present house of com-  
mons had chosen to follow the spirit of this re-  
solution, they would have received and esta-  
blished the candidate with the fewest votes."  
*Vide Answer to Sir W. M.* p. 18.

Permit me now, Sir, to shew you that the worthy Dr. Blackstone sometimes contradicts the ministry as well as himself. The speech without doors asserts, page 9, "that the legal effect of an incapacity, founded on a judicial determination of a complete court, is precisely the same as that of an incapacity created by act of parliament." Now for the Doctor,—*The law and the opinion of the judge are not always convertible terms, or one and the same thing; since it sometimes may happen the judge may mistake the law.* Commentaries, vol. I. p. 71.

The answer to Sir W. M. asserts, page 23,— " The returning officer is not a judicial, but a purely ministerial officer. His return is no judicial act." — At 'em again Doctor! *The Sheriff, in his judicial capacity is to bear and determine causes of 40 shillings value and under in his county court. He has also a judicial power in divers other civil cases. He is likewise to decide the elections of*

*knights of the shire (subject to the control of the House of Commons), to judge of the qualification of voters, and to return such as he shall DETERMINE to be duly elected. Vide Commenta. page 332. vol. I.*

What conclusion shall we draw from such facts, and such arguments, such contradictions? I cannot express my opinion of the present ministry more exactly than in the words of Sir Richard Steele,—“that we are governed by a set of dri-“ vellers, whose folly takes away all dignity from “ distress, and makes even calamity rediculous.”

PHILO JUNIUS.

L E T .

## LETTER XXV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Sept. 5, 1769.

AMIDST the great number of correspondents who have raised your paper to a superiority over the rest, I don't remember to have observed lately any of the female sex. To a woman of spirit, the most intolerable of all grievances is a restraint on the liberty of the tongue. I can't bear to see the men have it all to themselves; and shall certainly burst, if I am not permitted to put in a word. Much has been said of late about grievances and apprehensions, instructions and petitions, elections and expulsions. Now, Sir, I want to enter the lists with one of the most celebrated of your political correspondents: Here I throw down my glove, and am in hopes it will be taken up by—Junius.

Some people perhaps may blame me for meddling with politics, a science fit only for the men; but Junius has no right to find fault; for Junius has

has been the aggressor by making such frequent incursions into scandal, the natural province of the women.

However, I will do your correspondent Junius the justice to say, that I think him a very fine writer, a great master of composition, and indeed upon the whole I have not seen a prettier fellow—upon paper. His former letters have consisted of general declamation, or pointed personal abuse. In both of these he has proved himself an adept. There is a great deal of oratory in his declamations, though he is perhaps too flowery and metaphorical, and seems as fond of point and anti-theft as any woman is of point lace and French silk. As to his personal attacks, they are irresistible; no character can stand before him; he is the very butcher of a reputation: ‘Heaven preserve the characters of all my tribe from Junius!’

In the art of exaggeration he has no equal; molehills he magnifies into mountains, and views your *smallest peccadillo* through a double microscope. Should there be the least spot or speck on your reputation, Junius can spread it out (with the help of a few drops of ink) till it covers you all over, and makes you as black as a fiend; in short, Junius is chief japanner or calumniator-general to the opposition; he is employed to besmirch

smear the ministry with his very best liquid blacking; and when he has written them out of office, he will no doubt change his colours, take a different brush, and white wash their successors. I wish he may make as distinguished a figure in the sweet work of panegyric as he has done in the painful task of calumny and detraction!

But of all kinds of abuse, private scandal seems to be his favourite morsel; Junius lays hold of a scandalous anecdote, with as much keeness as a spider seizes an unfortunate fly; he crawls forth from the dark hole where he lay concealed; how eagerly he clutches it; with what a malicious pleasure he drags it along; his eyes gloat upon it with cruel delight; he winds it round and round with his cobweb rhetoric, and sucks the very heart's blood of family peace!

Various has been the conjectures formed on the question, 'Who is this Junius?' — I have heard at least twenty persons named, whom suspicion points the finger at; nay I have been assured at different times, that each of them was the author in question. They could not *all* be the writer; perhaps *none* of them is.—But in spite of all the curiosity which is imputed to our sex, I declare sincerely, that I would not give a pin for the secret. 'Tis indifferent to me who the man is? and

and whether he was first dipped in the Thames or the Tweed, the Liffy or the Shannon.

But though I can't tell who Junius is, I will tell you what he is *like*. Junius is like a racer in the field of politics, who walks over the course alone; no one venturing to start against him; I have for some time had a violent inclination to enter at the post, though I am sensible the odds at starting would be greatly against the filly; but for all that, perhaps I should be up with him at the long run. But I have run out my simile, and therefore must beg leave to take a fresh one. Your paper, Mr. Woodfall, is become the grand political cockpit; and Junius struts about in it like a cock whom nobody can match; suppose that I were pitted against him, how do you think the bets would go? And what are the odds that he does not come off hen-pecked? If I should happen to get the better of him, it would be as much a matter of public wonder as the late affair of the hen in Scotland-Yard, who ' attacked a prodigious large rat that was carrying off one of her chickens, and after fighting a considerable time, killed the rat, to the great joy and surprize of the spectators.' And besides, how great will be the honour accruing to our sex from such a victory? It will be recorded amongst the most famous exploits in the annals of

of female prowess; and I shall be ranked with the most renowned heroines of antiquity. Thomyris and Semiramis, Judith and Deborah.

But perhaps the defeat of this political Holofernes may not be so very difficult; and indeed on a nearer view he does not appear half so formidable. When Junius stalked upon the heights of declamation, he appeared of more than ordinary size; but now that he has descended to the plain ground of reason and argument, he appears nearly on a level with common men. His letters on the Middlesex election are most sophistically dull, unless where he throws in some personalities by way of giving spirit and flavour to his political olio. However, I don't believe that with all his sophistry he has made a single convert to his opinion. I fancy there is hardly one cool, moderate, impartial person in England, who does not think that the house of commons are the *only* judges of their own privileges; that no power on earth can force a member upon them, whom they have declared incapable of being elected; and that if any person under such known and declared incapacity, happens to have the greatest number of votes, that candidate who has the next greatest number of legal votes, must of course be the sitting member. This opinion seems to me to be perfectly agreeable

to reason, to common sense, and the principles of the constitution, and (notwithstanding the delusive appearance of petitions obtained we all know how) I do verily believe it is the opinion of every candid, impartial, unprejudiced person in England; in short, of all those who are not the tools of faction, or the dupes of party.

JUNIA

LET.

## LETTER XXVI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Sept. 21, 1769.

I FIND myself unexpectedly married in the newspapers, without my knowledge or consent. Since I am fated to be a husband, I hope at least the lady will perform the principal duty of a wife. Marriages, they say, are made in heaven, but they are consummated upon earth; and since Junia has adopted my name, she cannot, in common matrimonial decency, refuse to make me a tender of her person. Politics are too barren a subject for a new-married couple. I should be glad to furnish her with one more fit for a lady to handle, and better suited to the dexterity of her sex. In short, if Junia be young and handsome, she will have no reason to complain of my method of conducting an argument. I abominate all tergiversation in discourse, and she may be assured that whatever I advance, whether it be weak or forcible, shall, at any rate, be directly in point. It is

Y 2

true,

true, I am a strenuous advocate for liberty and property, but when these rights are invaded by a pretty woman, I am neither able to defend my money nor my freedom, the divine right of beauty is the only one an Englishman ought to acknowledge, and a pretty woman the only tyrant he is not authorised to resist.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XXVII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

MY LORD,

*Sept. 19, 1769.*

YOU are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public, that if, in the following lines, a compliment or expression of applause should escape me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your established character, and perhaps an insult to your understanding. You have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your resentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, I shall leave the illustration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the easiness of your temper, or possibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by stealth. The rest is upon record. You have still left ample room for speculation, when panegyric is exhausted.

You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank ;—a splendid fortune ; and a name, glorious

glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities than I think you possess. From the first, you derived a constitutional claim to respect; from the second, a natural extensive authority;—the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages, might have been more honourable to yourself, but could not be more instructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accomplishment of every sanguine hope, which the public might have conceived from the illustrious name of Russel.

The eminence of your station gave you a commanding prospect of your duty. The road, which led to honour was open to your view. You could not lose it by mistake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by design. Compare the natural dignity and importance of the richest peer in England;—the noble independence, which he might have maintained in parliament; and the real interest and respect, which he might have acquired, not only in parliament, but through the whole kingdom; compare these glorious distinctions with the ambition of holding a share in government, the emoluments of a place, the sale of a borough,

or

or the purchase of a corporation; and though you may not regret the virtues, which create respect, you may see with anguish, how much real importance and authority you have lost. Consider the character of an independent virtuous Duke of Bedford; imagine what he might be in this country, then reflect one moment upon what you are. If it be possible for me to withdraw my attention from the fact, I will tell you in theory what such a man might be.

Conscious of his own weight and importance, his conduct in parliament would be directed by nothing but the constitutional duty of a peer. He would consider himself as a guardian of the laws. Willing to support the just measures of government, but determined to observe the conduct of the minister with suspicion, he would oppose the violence of faction with as much firmness, as the encroachments of prerogative. He would be as little capable of bargaining with the minister for places for himself, or his dependants, as of descending to mix himself in the intrigues of opposition. Whenever an important question called for his opinion in parliament, he would be heard, by the most profligate minister, with deference and respect. His authority would either sanctify or disgrace the measures of government.—The people

ple would look up to him as to their protector, and a virtuous prince would have one honest man in his dominions, in whose integrity and judgment he might safely confide. \* If it should be the will of providence to afflict him with a domestic misfortune, he would submit to the stroke, with feeling, but not without dignity. He would consider the people as his children, and receive a generous heart-felt consolation, in the sympathising tears, and blessings of his country.

Your grace may probably discover something more intelligible in the negative part of this illustrious character. The man I have described would never prostitute his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence, either in oppressing or defending a minister. He would not at one moment rancorously persecute, at another basely cringe to the favourite of his Sovereign. After outraging the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, little short of menace and hostility, he would never descend to the humility of soliciting an interview † with the Favourite, and of offering to recover,

at

\* The Duke lately lost his only son, by a fall from his horse.

† At this interview, which passed at the house of the late Lord Eglintoun, Lord Bute told the Duke that he was determined never to have any connexion with a man, who had so basely betrayed him.

at any price, the honour of his friendship. Though deceived perhaps in his youth, he would not, through the course of a long life, have invariably chosen his friends from among the most profligate of mankind. His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleasures or conversation with jockeys, gamesters, blasphemers, gladiators or buffoons. He would then have never felt, much less would he have submitted to the humiliating dishonest necessity of engaging in the interests and intrigues of his dependants, of supplying their vices, or relieving their beggary, at the expence of his country. He would not have betrayed such ignorance, or such contempt of the constitution as openly to avow, in a court of justice, the \* purchase and sale of a borough. He would not have thought it consistent with his rank in the state, or even with his personal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation†. He would never

VOL. I.

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have

\* In an answer in Chancery, in a suit against him to recover a large sum paid him by a person, whom he had undertaken to return to parliament for one of his Grace's boroughs. He was compelled to repay the money.

† Of Bedford, where the tyrant was held in such contempt and detestation, that, in order to deliver themselves from him, they admitted a great number of strangers to their freedom. To make his defeat truly ridiculous, he tried his whole strength against Mr. Horne, and was beaten upon his own ground.

have been insulted with virtues which he had laboured to extinguish, nor suffered the disgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ridiculous and contemptible, even to the few by whom he was not detested. I reverence the afflictions of a good man—his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distresses of a man, whom we can neither love nor esteem; or feel for a calamity, of which he himself is insensible? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son, in consultations and bargains for a place at court, and even in the misery, of ballotting at the India House!

Admitting then that you have mistaken or deserted those honourable principles, which ought to have directed your conduct; admitting that you have as little claim to private affection as to public esteem, let us see with what abilities, with what degree of judgment you have carried your own system into execution. A great man, in the success, and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a rescue from contempt. Your Grace is every way unfortunate. Yet I will not look back to those ridiculous scenes, by which in your earlier days, you thought it an honour to be distinguished\*; the

recorded

\* Mr. Heston Homphrey, a country Attorney, horsewhipped.

recorded stripes, the public infamy, your own sufferings, or Mr. Rigby's fortitude. These events undoubtedly left an impression, though not upon your mind. To such a mind, it may perhaps be a pleasure to reflect, that there is hardly a corner of any of his Majesty's kingdoms, except France, in which, at one time or other, your valuable life has not been in danger. Amiable man; we see and acknowledge the protection of providence, by which you have so often escaped the personal detestation of your fellow-subjects, and are still reserved for the public justice of your country.

Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the Earl of Bute, at the court of Versailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the same spirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit

to

whipped the Duke, with equal justice, severity, and perseverance, on the Course at Litchfield. Rigby and lord Trentham were also cudgelled in a most exemplary manner. This gave rise to the following story: " Whea the late King heard that Sir Edward Hawke had given the French a drubbing, his Majesty, who had never received that kind of chastisement, was pleased to ask lord Chesterfield the meaning of the word.—Sir, says lord Chesterfield, the meaning of the word—but here comes the Duke of Bedford, who is better able to explain it to your Majesty than I am."

to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign. Their business required a man who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havanna, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negotiation. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made, without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an interior evidence, beyond all the legal proof of a court of justice. Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed\*. He saw and felt his own dishonour in corresponding with you; and there certainly was a moment, at which he meant to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it.

I will not pretend to specify the secret terms on which you were invited to support an administration

\* This man, notwithstanding his pride and tory principles, had some English stuff in him. Upon an official letter he wrote to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke desired to be recalled, and it was with the utmost difficulty that lord Bute could appease him.

† Mr. Grenville, lord Halifax, and lord Egremont.

tion which Lord Bute pretended to leave in full possession of their ministerial authority, and perfectly masters of themselves. He was not of a temper to relinquish power, tho' he retired from employment. Stipulations were certainly made between your Grace and him, and certainly violated. After two years submission, you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to controul his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave. When you found yourself mistaken in your opinion of your gracious Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit, as from all decency and respect\*. After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preserve the honour of a Gentleman. It was then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and dispatched (we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treasury of

the

\* The ministry having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the regency bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the —, reproached him in plain terms, with his duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy, —repeatedly gave him the lye, and left him in convulsions.

the first fruits of an employment† which you well knew he was never to execute.

This sudden declaration of war against the Favourite might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with resolution. Without looking back to all your former servility, we need only observe your subsequent conduct, to see upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness.—The moment their dismission was suspected, the moment you perceived that another system was adopted in the closet, you thought it no disgrace to return to your former dependance, and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It would now be of little use to point out, by what a train of weak, injudicious measures, it became necessary, or was thought so, to call you back to a share in the administration\*. The friends, whom

† He received three thousand pounds for plate and equipage money.

\* When Earl Gower was appointed President of the council, the king with his usual sincerity, assured him, that he had not had one happy moment, since the Duke of Bedford left him.

whose you did not in the last instance desert, were not of a character to add strength or credit to government ; and at that time your alliance with the Duke of Grafton was, I presume, hardly foreseen. We must look for other stipulations, to account for that sudden resolution of the closet, by which three of your dependants\* (whose characters, I think, cannot be less respected than they are) were advanced to offices, through which you might again controul the minister, and probably engross the whole direction of affairs.

The possession of absolute power is now once more within your reach. The measures you have taken to obtain and confirm it, are too gross to escape the eyes of a discerning, judicious prince. His palace is besieged ; the lines of circumvallation are drawing round him ; and unless he finds a resource in his own activity, or in the attachment of the real friends of his family, the best of princes must submit to the confinement of a state prisoner, until your Grace's death, or some less fortunate event shall raise the siege. For the present, you may safely resume that style of insult and menace, which even a private gentleman cannot submit to hear without being contemptible. Mr. Mackenzie's history is not yet forgotten, and

you

\* Lord Gower Weymouth, and Sandwich.

you may find precedents enough of the mode in which an imperious subject may signify his pleasure to his Sovereign. Where will this gracious monarch look for assistance, when the wretched Grafton would forget his obligations to his master, and desert him for a hollow alliance with such a man as the Duke of Bedford.

Let us consider you, then, as arrived at the summit of wordly greatness: let us suppose, that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accomplished, and your most sanguine wishes gratified in the fear, as well as the hatred of the people: Can age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? And is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: Let it not be recorded of you, that the latest moments of your life were dedicated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations, in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider, that, although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecility, after you have lost the vigour of the passions.

Your friends will ask, perhaps, Whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened

threatened, and his palace so often attacked ? If he returns to Wooburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable ; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and his name. Which ever way he flies, the *Hue and Cry* of the country pursues him.

In another kingdom indeed, the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt ; his virtues better understood ; or at worst, they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality.—As well might *Verres* have returned to Sicily. You have twice escaped, my Lord ; beware of a third experiment. The indignation of a whole people, plundered, insulted, and oppressed as they have been, will not always be disappointed.

It is in vain therefore to shift the scene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourself. Persecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for consolation, and find nothing but reproaches and despair. But, my Lord, you may quit the field of business, though not the field of

danger ; and though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous. I fear you have listened too long to the advice of those pernicious friends, with whose interests you have sordidly united your own, and for whom you have sacrificed every thing that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are still base enough to encourage the follies of your age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not suffer you to profit by experience, nor even to consult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which the hero should preserve his consistency to the last, and that as you lived without virtue, you should die without repentance.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XXVIII.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Sept. 14, 1769,

HAVING accidentally seen a *republication* of your letters, wherein you have been pleased to assert, that I had *sold the companions* of my success; I am again obliged to declare the said assertion to be a most *infamous* and *malicious falsehood*; and I again call on you to stand forth, avow yourself, and prove the charge. If you can make it out to the satisfaction of any one man in the kingdom, I will be content to be thought the worst man in it; if you do not, what must the nation think of you? *Party* has nothing to do in this affair: you have made a personal attack upon my honour, defamed me by a most vile calumny, which might possibly have sunk into oblivion, had not such uncommon pains been taken to renew and perpetuate this scandal, chiefly because it has been told in good language: for I give you full credit for your elegant diction, well turned periods, and attic wit; but wit is sometimes false, though it may appear brilliant; which is exactly

the case of your *whole performance*. But, Sir, I am obliged in the most serious manner to accuse you of being guilty of *falsities*. You have said the thing that is *not*. To support your story, you have recourse to the following *irrefangible* argument:

—“ You *sold* the companions of your victory, “ because when the 16th regiment was given to “ you, you *was silent*.” The conclusion is inevitable. I believe that such *deep* and *acute reasoning* could only come from such an extraordinary writer as JUNIUS. But unfortunately for you, the *premises* as well as the *conclusion* are absolutely *false*. Many applications have been made to the ministry on the subject of the Manilla Ransom since the time of my being colonel of that regiment. As I have for some years quitted London, I was obliged to have recourse to the honourable Colonel Monson and Sir Samuel Cornish to *negotiate* for me; in the last autumn, I personally delivered a memorial to the Earl of Shelburne at his seat in Wiltshire. As you have told us of your importance, that you are a person of *rank* and *fortune*, and above a *common bribe*, you may in all probability be not *unknown* to his lordship, who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say. But I shall now take the liberty, Sir, to seize your battery, and turn it against yourself. If your puerile and tinsel logic could

could carry the least weight or conviction with it, how must you stand affected by the *inevitable conclusion*, as you are pleased to term it? According to Junius, *Silence is Guilt*. In many of the public papers, you have been called in the most direct and offensive terms a *liar* and a *coward*. When did you reply to these foul accusations? You have been quite *silent*; quite *chopfallen*; therefore, because you was *silent*, the nation has a right to pronounce you to be both a liar and a coward, from your own argument; but, Sir, I will give you fair-play; will afford you an opportunity to wipe off the first appellation; by desiring the proofs of your charge against me. Produce them! To wipe off the last, produce *Yourselvē*. People cannot bear any longer your *Lion's-skin*, and the despicable *imposture* of the *old Roman Name* which you have *affectēd*. For the future assume the name of some *modern*\* bravo and dark assassin: Let your appellation have some affinity to your practice. But if I must *perish*, Junius, let me perish in the face of day; be for *once* a generous and open enemy. I allow that gothic *appeals* to cold Iron are no better proofs of a man's honesty and veracity than hot iron

\* Was ERUTUS and ancient bravo and dark assassin; or does Sir W. D. think it criminal to stab a tyrant to the heart?

iron and burning ploughshares are of *female chastity*: but a soldier's honour is as delicate as a woman's; it must not be suspected; you have dared to throw more than a suspicion upon mine; you cannot but know the consequences, which even the meekness of Christianity would pardon me for, after the injury you have done me.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

LET-

## LETTER XXIX.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, K. B.

*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*

SIR,

Sept. 25, 1769.

AFTER so long an interval, I did not expect to see the debate revived between us. My answer to your last letter shall be short; for I write to you with reluctance, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever.

Had you been originally and without provocation attacked by an anonymous writer, you would have some right to demand his name. But in this cause you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man, who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character

character of Junius, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you was not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?

You cannot but know that the republication of my letters was no more than a catch-penny contrivance of a printer, in which it was impossible I should be concerned, and for which I am no way answerable. At the same time I wish you to understand, that if I do not take the trouble of reprinting these papers, it is not from any fear of giving offence to Sir William Draper.

Your remarks upon a signature, adopted merely for distinction, are unworthy of notice; but when you tell me I have submitted to be called a liar and a coward, I must ask you in my turn, whether you seriously think it any way incumbent upon me to take notice of the silly invectives of every simpleton, who writes in a news-paper; and what opinion you would have conceived of my discretion, if I had suffered myself to be the dupe of so shallow an artifice?

Your appeal to the sword, though consistent enough with your late profession, will neither prove your innocence, nor clear you from suspici-

on.—Your complaints with regard to the Manila ransom were, for a considerable time, a distress to government. You were appointed (greatly out of your turn) to the command of a regiment, and *during that administration* we heard no more of Sir William Draper. The facts, of which I speak, may indeed be variously accounted for, but they are too notorious to be denied; and I think you might have learnt at the university, that a false conclusion is an error in argument, not a breach of veracity. Your solicitations, I doubt not, were renewed under *another* administration. Admitting the fact, I fear an indifferent person would only infer from it, that experience had made you acquainted with the benefits of complaining. Remember, Sir, that you have yourself confessed that, “ Considering the critical situation of “ this country, the ministry are in the right to “ temporise with Spain. This confession reduces you to an unfortunate dilemma. By renewing your solicitations, you must either mean to force your country into a war at a most unseasonable juncture; or having no view or expectation of that kind, that you look for nothing but a private compensation to yourself.

As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, tho' I may be indifferent about yours. Though you would fight, there are others who would assassinate.

But after all, Sir, where is the injury? You assure me, that my logic is puerile and tinsel, that it carries not the least weight or conviction, that my premises are false and my conclusions absurd. If this be a just description of me, how is it possible for such a writer to disturb *your* peace of mind, or to injure a character so well established as yours? Take care, Sir William, how you indulge this unruly temper, lest the world should suspect that conscience has some share in your resentments. You have more to fear from the treachery of your own passions, than from any malevolence of mine.

I believe, Sir, you will never know me. A considerable time must certainly elapse before we are personally acquainted. You need not, however, regret the delay, or suffer an apprehension that any length of time can restore you to the Christian meekness of your temper, and disappoint your present indignation. If I understand your character, there is in your own breast a repository, in which

which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions, and preserved without the hazard of diminution. The *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret*, I thought had only belonged to the worst character of antiquity. The text is in Tacitus;—you know best where to look for the commentary.

JUNIUS.

## LETTER XXX.

A WORD AT PARTING TO JUNIUS.

\* SIR,

O&amp;R. 7, 1769.

**A**S you have not favoured me with either of the *explanations* demanded of you, I can have nothing

\* ‘Measures and not Men’ is the common cant of affected moderation ;—a base, counterfeit language, fabricated by knaves, and made current among fools. Such gentle censure is not fitted to the present, degenerate state of society. When does it avail to expose the absurd contrivance, or pernicious tendency of measures, if the man, who advises or executes, shall be suffered not only to escape with impunity, but even to preserve his power, and insult us with the favour of his Sovereign ! I would recommend to the reader the whole of Mr. Pope’s letter to Doctor Arbuthnot, dated 26 June, 1734, from which the following is an extract.—“ To reform and not chastise I am afraid, is impossible ; “ and that the best precepts, as well as the best laws, would “ prove of small use, if there were no examples to inforce “ them. To attack vices in the abstract, without touching “ persons, may be safe fighting indeed, but it is fighting “ with shawdows. My greatest comfort and encourage- “ ment to proceed has been to see that those, who have no “ shame, and no fear of any thing else, have appeared “ touched by my satires.”

thing more to say to you upon my *own* account. Your mercy to me, or tenderness for yourself, has been very great. The public will judge of your motives. If your excess of modesty forbids you to produce either the proofs, or yourself, I will excuse it. Take courage; I have not the temper of Tiberius, any more than the rank or power. You, indeed, are a tyrant of another sort, and upon your political bed of torture can excruciate any subject, from a first minister down to such a grub or butterfly as myself; like another detested tyrant of antiquity, can make the wretched sufferer fit the bed, if the bed will not fit the sufferer, by disjointing or tearing the trembling limbs until they are stretched to its extremity. But courage, constancy and patience, under torments, have sometimes caused the most hardened monsters to relent, and forgive the object of their cruelty. You, Sir, are determined to try all that human nature can endure, until she expires: else, was it possible that you could be the author of that most inhuman letter to the Duke of Bedford, I have read with astonishment and horror? Where, Sir, where are the feelings of your own heart, when you could upbraid a most affectionate father with the loss of his only and most amiable son? Read over again those cruel lines of yours, and let them wring

wring your very soul ! Cannot political questions be discussed without descending to the most odious personalities ? Must you go wantonly out of your way to torment declining age, because the Duke of Bedford may have quarrelled with those whose cause and politics you espouse ? For shame ! for shame ! As you have *spoke daggars* to him, you may justly dread the *use* of them against your own breast, did a want of courage, or of noble sentiments, stimulate him to such mean revenge. He is above it ; he is brave. Do you fancy that your own base arts have infected our whole island ? But your own reflections, your own conscience, must and will, if you have any spark of humanity remaining, give him most ample vengeance. Not all the power of words with which you are so graced, will ever wash out, or even palliate this foul blot in your character. I have not time at present to dissect your letter so minutely as I could wish, but I will be bold enough to say, that it is (as to reason and argument) the most extraordinary piece of *florid impotence* that ever was imposed upon the eyes and ears of the too credulous and deluded mob. It accuses the Duke of Bedford of high-treason. Upon what foundation ? You tell us,  
“ That the Duke’s *pecuniary character* makes it  
“ more

" more than probable, that he could not have  
" made such sacrifices at the peace, without *some*  
" *private compensations* ; that his conduct carried  
" with it an interior evidence, beyond all the le-  
" gal proofs of a court of justice."

My academical education, Sir, bids me tell you that it is necessary to establish the truth of your first proposition, before you presume to draw inferences from it. First prove the avarice, before you make the rash, hasty, and most wicked conclusion. This father, Junius, whom you call avaricious, allowed that son eight thousand pounds a-year. Upon his most unfortunate death, which your usual goodnature took care to remind him of, he greatly increased the jointure of the afflicted lady, his widow. Is this avarice ? Is this doing good by *stealthe* ? It is upon record.

If exact order, method, and true œconomy as a master of a family ; if splendor and just magnificence, without wild waste and thoughtless extravagance, may constitute the character of an avaricious man, the Duke is guilty. But for a moment let us admit that an ambassador may love money too much ; what proof do you give that he has taken any to betray his country ? Is it hear-say ? or the evidence of letters ? or ocular ? or the evidence of those concerned in this black affair ;

Produce

Produce your authorities to the public. It is a most impudent kind of sorcery to attempt to blind us with the smoke, without convincing us that the fire has existed. You first brand him with a vice that he is free from, to render him odious and suspected. Suspicion is the foul weapon with which you make all your chief attacks ; with that you stab. But shall one of the first subjects of the realm be ruined in his fame ; shall even his life be in constant danger, from a charge built upon such sandy foundations ? Must his house be besieged by lawless russians, his journies impeded, and even the asylum of an altar be insecure, from assertions so base and false ? Potent as he is, the Duke is amenable to justice ; if guilty, punishable. The parliament is the high and solemn tribunal for matters of such great moment. To that be they submitted. But I hope also that some notice will be taken of, and some punishment inflicted upon false accusers, especially upon such, Junius, who are *wilfully false*. In any truth I will agree even with Junius ; will agree with him, that it is highly unbecoming the dignity of Peers to tamper with boroughs. Aristocracy is as fatal as democracy. Our constitution admits of neither. It loves a King, Lords, and Commons really chosen by the unbought suffrages of a free people. But if corruption

tion only shift hands ; if the wealthy commoner gives the bribe, instead of the potent Peer, is the state better served by this exchange ? Is the real emancipation of the borough effected, because new parchment bonds may possibly supersede the old ? To say the truth, wherever such practices prevail, they are equally criminal, and destructive of our freedom.

The rest of your declamation is scarce worth considering, excepting for the elegance of the language. Like Hamlet in the play, you produce two pictures ; you tell us, that one is not like the Duke of Bedford ; then you bring a most hideous caricatura, and tell us of the resemblance ; but *multum ab ludit imago.*

All your long tedious accounts of the ministerial quarrels, and the intrigues of the cabinet, are reducible to a few short lines ; and to convince you, Sir, that I do not mean to flatter any minister, either past or present, these are my thoughts ; they seem to have acted like lovers, or children ; have \* pouted, quarrelled, cried, kissed, and been friends again, as the objects of desire, the ministerial rattles, have been put into their hands. But such

VOL. I.

C c

proceedings

\* Sir Willam gives us a pleasant account of men, who, in his opinion at least, are the best qualified to govern an empire.

proceedings are very unworthy of the gravity and dignity of a great nation. We do not want men of abilities; but we have wanted steadiness; we want unanimity: your letters, *Junius*, will not contribute thereto. You may one day expire by a flame of your own kindling. But it is my humble opinion that lenity and moderation, pardon and oblivion, will disappoint the efforts of all the seditionists in the land, and extinguish their wide spreading fires. I have lived with this sentiment; with this I shall die.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

L E T -

## LETTER XXXI

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

13 Oct. 1769.

If Sir William Draper's bed be a bed of tortures, he has made it for himself. I shall never interrupt his repose. Having changed the subject, there are parts of his last letter not undeserving of a reply. Leaving his private character and conduct out of the question, I shall consider him merely in the capacity of an author, whose labours certainly do no discredit to a news-paper.

We say, in common discourse, that a man may be his own enemy, and the frequency of the fact makes the expression intelligible. But that a man should be the bitterest enemy of his friends, implies a contradiction of a peculiar nature. There is something in it, which cannot be conceived without a confusion of ideas, nor expressed without a solecism in language. Sir William Draper is still that fatal friend Lord Granby found him. Yet

Yet I am ready to do justice to his generosity ; if indeed it be not something more than generous, to be the voluntary advocate of men, who think themselves injured by his assistance, and to consider nothing in the cause he adopts, but the difficulty of defending it. I thought however he had been better read in the history of the human heart, than to compare or confound the tortures of the body with those of the mind. He ought to have known, though perhaps it might not be his interest to confess, that no outward tyranny can reach the mind. If conscience plays the tyrant, it would be greatly for the benefit of the world, that she were more arbitrary, and far less placable, than some men find her.

But it seems I have outraged the feelings of a father's heart.—Am I indeed so injudicious ? Does Sir William Draper think I would have hazarded my credit with a generous nation, by so gross a violation of the laws of humanity ; Does he think I am so little acquainted with the first and noblest characteristic of Englishmen ? Or how will he reconcile such folly with an understanding so full of artifice as mine ? Had he been a father, he would have been but little offended with the severity of the reproach, for his mind would have been filled with the justice of it. He would

would have seen that I did not insult the feelings of a father, but the father who felt nothing. He would have trusted to the evidence of his own paternal heart, and boldly denied the possibility of the fact, instead of defending it. Against whom then will this honest indignation be directed, when I assure him that this whole town beheld the Duke of Bedford's conduct, upon the death of his son, with horror and astonishment. Sir William Draper does himself but little honour in opposing the general sense of his country. The people are seldom wrong in their opinions,—in their sentiments they are never mistaken. There may be a vanity perhaps in a singular way of thinking ;—but when a man professes a want of those feelings, which do honour to the multitude, he hazards something infinitely more important than the character of his understanding. After all, as Sir William may possibly be in earnest in his anxiety for the Duke of Bedford, I should be glad to relieve him from it. He may rest assured that this worthy nobleman laughs, with equal indifference at my reproaches, and Sir William's distress about him. But here let it stop. Even the Duke of Bedford, insensible as he is, will consult the tranquillity of his life, in not provoking the moderation of my temper. If, from the profoundest contempt,

contempt, I should ever rise into anger, he should soon find, that all I have already said of him was lenity and compassion.

Out of a long catalogue, Sir William Draper has confined himself to the refutation of two charges only. The rest he had no time to discuss; and indeed it would have been a laborious undertaking. To draw up a defence of such a series of enormities, would have required a life at least as long as that which has been uniformly employed in the practice of them. The public opinion of the Duke of Bedford's extreme economy is, it seems, entirely without foundation. Though not very prodigal abroad, in his own family at least he is regular and magnificent. He pays his debts, abhors a beggar, and makes a handsome provision for his son. His charity has improved upon the proverb, and ended where it began. Admitting the whole force of the single instance of his domestic generosity (wonderful indeed, considering the narrowness of his fortune, and the little merit of his only son) the public may still perhaps be dissatisfied, and demand some other less equivocal proofs of his munificence. Sir William Draper should have entered boldly into the detail—of indigence relieved—of arts encouraged—of science patronized; men  
of

of learning protected, and works of genius rewarded;—in short, had there been a single instance, besides Mr. Rigby\*, of blushing merit brought forward by the Duke, for the service of the public, it should not have been omitted.

I wish it were possible to establish my inference with the same certainty, on which I believe the principle is founded. My conclusion however was not drawn from the principle alone. I am not so unjust as to reason from one crime to another; though I think, that, of all the vices, avarice is most apt to taint and corrupt the heart. I combined the known temper of the man with the extravagant concessions made by the ambassador; and though I doubt not sufficient care was taken to leave no document of any treasonable negociation, I still maintain that the conduct † of this minister carries with it an internal and a convincing evidence, against him. Sir William Draper seems not to know the value or force

of

\* This gentleman is supposed to have the same idea of blushing, that a man blind from his birth, has of scarlet or sky-blue.

† If Sir W. D. will take the trouble of looking into Torrey's Memoirs, he will see with what little ceremony a bribe may be offered to a Duke, and with what little ceremony it was only n't accepted.

of such a proof. He will not permit us to judge of the motives of men, by the manifest tendency of their actions, nor by the notorious character of their minds. He calls for papers and witnesses, with a triumphant security, as if nothing could be true, but what could be proved in a court of justice. Yet a religious man might have remembered, upon what foundation some truths most interesting to mankind, have been received and established. If it were not for the internal evidence, which the purest of religions carries with it, what would have become of his once well-quoted decalogue, and of the meekness of his Christianity ?

The generous warmth of his resentment makes him confound the order of events. He forgets that the insults and the distresses which the Duke of Bedford has suffered, and which Sir William has lamented with many delicate touches of the true pathetic, were only recorded in my letter to his Grace, not occasioned by it. It was a simple, candid narrative of facts ; though, for aught I know, it may carry with it something prophetic. His Grace undoubtedly has received several ominous hints; and I think, in certain circumstances a wise man would do well to prepare himself for the event.

But .

But I have a charge of a heavier nature against Sir William Draper. He tells us that the Duke of Bedford is amenable to justice ;—that parliament is a high and solemn tribunal ; and that, if guilty, he may be punished by due course of law ; and all this, he says, with as much gravity as if he believed one word of the matter. I hope indeed, the day of impeachments will arrive, before this nobleman escapes out of life ;—but to refer us to that mode of proceeding now, with such a ministry, and such a House of Commons as the present, what is it, but an indecent mockery of the common sense of the nation ? I think he might have contented himself with defending the greatest enemy, without insulting the distresses of his country.

His concluding declaration of his opinion, with respect to the present condition of affairs, is too loose and undetermined to be of any service to the public. How strange is it, that this gentleman should dedicate so much time and argument to the defence of worthless, or indifferent characters, while he gives but seven solitary lines to the only subject, which can deserve his attention, or do credit to his abilities.

JUNIUS.

## LETTER XXXII.

ADDRESSED TO THE PRINTER OF THE  
PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

19 Oct. 1769

I AM well assured that *Junius* will never descend to a dispute with such a writer as *Modestus* (whose letter appeared in the Gazetteer of Monday) especially as the dispute must be chiefly about words. Notwithstanding the partiality of the public, it does not appear that *Junius* values himself upon any superior skill in composition, and I hope his time will always be more usefully employed than in the trifling refinements of verbal criticism. *Modestus*, however, shall have no reason to triumph in the silence and moderation of *Junius*. If he knew as much of the propriety of language, as I believe he does of the facts in question, he would have been as cautious of attacking *Junius* upon his composition, as he seems to be of entering into the subject of it; yet after all, the last is the only article of any importance to the public.

I do not wonder at the unremitting rancour with which

which the Duke of Bedford and his adherents invariably speak of a nation, which we well know has been too much injured to be easily forgotten. But why must *Junius* be an Irishman?—*The absurdity of his writings betrays him.*—Waving all consideration of the insult offered by *Modestus* to the declared judgment of the people (they may well bear this among the rest) let us follow the several instances, and try whether the charge be fairly supported.

First then,—the leaving a man to enjoy such repose as he can find upon a bed of torture, is severe indeed; perhaps too much so, when applied to such a trifler as Sir William Draper; but there is nothing absurd either in the idea or expression. *Modestus* cannot distinguish between a sarcasm and a contradiction.

2. I affirm with *Junius*, that it is the *frequency* of the fact, which alone can make us comprehend how a man can be his own enemy! We should never arrive at the complex idea conveyed by those words, if we had only seen one or two instances of a man acting to his own prejudice. Offer the proposition to a child, or a man unused to compound his ideas, and you will soon see how little either of them understand you. It is not a simple idea arising from a single fact, but a very complex

complex idea arising from many facts well observed, and accurately compared.

3. *Modestus* could not, without great affectation, mistake the meaning of *Junius*, when he speaks of a man who is the bitterest enemy of his friends. He could not but know, that *Junius* spoke, not of a false or hollow friendship, but of a real intention to serve, and that intention producing the worst effects of enmity. Whether the description be strictly applicable to Sir William Draper is another question. *Junius* does not say that it is more *criminal* for a man to be the enemy of his friends than his own, though he might have affirmed it with truth. In a moral light a man may certainly take greater liberties with himself than with another. To sacrifice ourselves merely is a weakness we may indulge in, if we think proper, for we do it at our own hazard and expence ; but, under the pretence of friendship, to sport with the reputation, or sacrifice the honour of another, is something worse than weakness ; and if, in favour of the foolish intention, we do not call it a crime, we must allow at least that it arises from an overweening, busy, meddling impudence.—*Junius* says only, and he says truly, that it is more extraordinary, that it involves a greater contradiction than the other ; and is it not a maxim received in life, that

in

in general we can determine more wisely for others than for ourselves? The reason of it is so clear in argument, that it hardly wants the confirmation of experience. Sir William Draper, I confess, is an exception to the general rule, though not much to his credit.

4. If this gentleman will go back to his Ethicks, he may perhaps discover the truth of what *Junius* says, *that no outward tyranny can reach the mind*. The tortures of the body may be introduced by way of ornament or illustration to represent those of the mind, but strictly there is no similitude between them. They are totally different both in their cause and operation. The wretch, who suffers upon the rack, is merely passive; but when the mind is tortured, it is not at the command of any outward power. It is the sense of guilt which constitutes the punishment, and creates that torture with which the guilty mind acts upon itself.

5. He misquotes what *Junius* says of conscience, and makes the sentence ridiculous, by making it his own.

So much for composition. Now for fact.—*Junius* it seems has mistaken the Duke of Bedford. His grace had all the proper feelings of a father, though he took care to suppress the appearance of them. Yet it was an occasion, one would think,

on

on which he need not have been ashamed of his grief ;—on which less fortitude would have done him more honour. I can conceive indeed a benevolent motive for his endeavouring to assume an air of tranquillity in his own family, and I wish I could discover any thing, in the rest of his character, to justify my assigning that motive to his behaviour. But is there no medium ? Was it necessary to appear abroad, to ballot at the India-House, and make a public display, though it were only of an apparent insensibility ?—I know we are treading on tender ground, and *Junius*, I am convinced, does not wish to urge this question farther. Let the friends of the Duke of Bedford observe that humble silence, which becomes their situation. They should recollect that there are still some facts in store, at which human nature would shudder. I shall be understood by those whom it concerns, when I say that these [facts go no farther than to the Duke\*.

It

\* Within a fortnight after lord Tavistock's death, the venerable Gertrude had a route at Bedford-house. The good Duke (who had only sixty thousand pounds a year) ordered an inventory to be taken of his son's wearing apparel, down to his slippers, sold them all, and put the money in his pocket. The amiable Marchioness, shocked at such brutal, and unfeeling avarice, gave the value of the cloaths, to the Marquis's servant, out of her own purse. That incomparable

It is not inconsistent to suppose that a man may be quite indifferent about one part of a charge, yet severely stung with another, and though he feels no remorse, that he may wish to be revenged. The charge of insensibility carries a reproach indeed, but no danger with it.—*Junius* had said, *there are others who would assassinate. Modestus*, knowing his man, will not suffer the insinuation to be divided, but fixes it all upon the Duke of Bedford.

Without determining upon what evidence *Junius* would choose to be condemned, I will venture to maintain, in opposition to *Modestus*, or to Mr. Rigby (who is certainly not *Modestus*) or any other of the Bloomsbury gang, that the evidence against the Duke of Bedford is as strong as any presumptive evidence can be. It depends upon a combination of facts and reasoning, which require no confirmation from the anecdote of the Duke of Marlborough. This anecdote was referred to, merely to shew how ready a great man may be to receive

a

ble woman did not long survive her husband. When she died, the Duchess of Bedford treated her as the Duke had treated his only son. She ordered every gown and trinket to be sold, and pocketed the money.—These are the monsters, whom Sir William Draper comes forward to defend.—May God protect me from doing any thing that may require such defence, or deserve such friendship.

a great bribe ; and if *Modestus* could read the original, he would see that the expression, *only not accepted*, was probably the only one in our language that exactly fitted the case. The bribe, offered to the Duke of Marlborough, was not refused.

I cannot conclude without taking notice of this honest gentleman's learning, and wishing he had given us a little more of it. When he accidentally found himself so near speaking truth it was rather unfair of him to leave out the *non potuisse refelli*. As it stands, the *pudet hæc opprobria* may be divided equally between Mr. Rigby and the Duke of Bedford. Mr. Rigby, I take for granted, will assert his natural right to the modesty of the quotation, and leave all the opprobrium to his Grace.

PHILO JUNIUS.

L E T -

## LETTER XXXIII

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

OCT. 17, 1769.

PERFECTLY convinced as I am of my own inability to enter the lists, or use my pen against the two-edged sword that glitters in the hand of Junius, nothing but my being impelled by that *uncommon* kind of gratitude, which makes us not only thankful for benefits received, but inclines us to love and respect our benefactor, could tempt me forth to so unequal a combat, or prevail on me to offer even a fact to the public, through such a channel as our news-papers.

Let my motive then plead my excuse, while I reply to the charge which appears most difficult to be cleared, because it is most general, which Junius has made against the Duke of Bedford.

Junius calls upon Sir William Draper to 'enter boldly into the detail of indigence relieved ; of arts encouraged ; of science patronized ; of men of learning protected ; and works of genius rewarded.'

Under any of these denominations, it must be extremely painful to a woman, whose highest merit should be modest, and of course a *blushing merit*, to appear ; yet truth and gratitude ought to surmount female delicacy so far, as to relate a matter of fact, which she hopes will be one proof of the injustice of the charge here quoted against the Duke of Bedford.

When his Grace was lord lieutenant of Ireland, the series of letters between Henry and Frances happened to fall into his hands. In the preface, Henry speaks of the distresses of his fortune, and the justifiable means by which those distresses were occasioned.—His Grace's humanity was affected ; he enquired into the author's situation, and on finding it to be what is there described, unsolicited by aught but his own noble nature, he sent for Henry, and in the most obliging and gracious manner presented him with a patent employment, which was at that time vacant.

Sure I am, that many parallel, perhaps more meritorious, instances of his Grace's munificence, might be recounted, if those, who like me have partaken of them, had virtue sufficient to acknowledge themselves *obliged*, when they had received an *obligation*.

FRANCES.

## LETTER XXXIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

OCT. 20, 1769

I VERY sincerely applaud the spirit with which a lady has paid the debt of gratitude to her benefactor. Though I think she has mistaken the point, she shews a virtue which makes her respectable. The question turned upon the personal generosity or avarice of a man, whose private fortune is immense.

The proofs of his munificence must be drawn from the uses to which he has applied that fortune. I was not speaking of a lord lieutenant of Ireland, but of a rich English Duke, whose wealth gave him the means of doing as much good in this country, as he derived from his power in another. I am far from wishing to lessen the merit of this single benevolent action;—perhaps it is the more conspicuous from standing alone. All I mean to say is, that it proves nothing in the present argument.

E c 2 JUNIUS.

## LETTER XXXV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Sept. 5, 1769.

I T is not wonderful that the great cause, in which this country is engaged, should have roused and engrossed the whole attention of the people. I rather admire the generous spirit with which they feel and assert their interest in this important question, than blame them for their indifference about any other. When the constitution is openly invaded, when the first original right of the people, from which all laws derive their authority, is directly attacked, inferior grievances naturally lose their force, and are suffered to pass by without punishment or observation. The present ministry are as singularly marked by their fortune, as by their crimes. Instead of atoning for their former conduct by a wise or popular measure, they have found, in the enormity of one fact, a cover and defence for a series of measures, which must have been fatal to any other administration. I fear we

we are too remiss in observing the whole of their proceedings. Struck with the principal figure, we do not sufficiently mark in what manner the canvas is filled up. Yet surely it is not a less crime, nor less fatal in its consequences, to encourage a flagrant breach of the law by a military force, than to make use of the forms of parliament to destroy the constitution. The ministry seem determined to give us a choice of difficulties, and, if possible, to perplex us with the multitude of their offences. The expedient is worthy of the Duke of Grafton. But though he has preserved a gradation and variety in his measures, we should remember that the principle is uniform. Dictated by the same spirit, they deserve the same attention. The following fact, though of the most alarming nature, has not yet been clearly stated to the public, nor have the consequences of it been sufficiently understood. Had I taken it up at an early period, I should have been accused of an uncandid, malignant precipitation, as if I watched for an unfair advantage against the ministry, and would not allow them a reasonable time to do their duty. They now stand without excuse. Instead of employing the leisure they have had, in a strict examination of the offence, and punishing the offenders, they seem to have considered that indulgence

gence as a security to them, that with a little time and management the whole affair might be buried in silence, and utterly forgotten.

\* A major general of the army is arrested by the sheriffs officers for a considerable debt. He persuades them to conduct him to the Tilt-Yard in St. James's Park, under some pretence of business which it imported him to settle before he was confined. He applies to a serjeant, not immediately on duty, to assist with some of his companions in favouring his escape. He attempts it. A bustle ensues. The bailiffs claim their prisoner. † An officer of the guards, not then on duty, takes part in the affair, applies to the § lieutenant commanding the Tilt-Yard guard, and urges him to turn out his guard to relieve a general officer. The lieutenant declines interfering in person, but stands at a distance, and suffers the business to be done. The officer takes upon himself, to order out the guard. In a moment they are in arms, quit their guard, march, rescue the general, and drive away the sheriffs officers, who in vain represent their right to the prisoner, and the nature of the arrest. The soldiers first conduct the general into the guard-room, then escort him to a place

of

\* Major General Ganfel. † Lieutenant Dodd.

§ Lieutenant Garth.

of safety, with bayonets fixed, and in all the forms of military triumph. I will not enlarge upon the various circumstances which attended this atrocious proceeding. The personal injury received by the officers of the law in the execution of their duty, may perhaps be atoned for by some private compensation. I consider nothing but the wound, which has been given to the law itself, to which no remedy has been applied, no satisfaction made. Neither is it my design to dwell upon the misconduct of the parties concerned, any farther than is necessary to shew the behaviour of the ministry in its true light. I would make every compassionate allowance for the infatuation of the prisoner, the false and criminal discretion of one officer, and the madness of another. I would leave the ignorant soldiers entirely out of the question. They are certainly the least guilty, though they are the only persons who have yet suffered, even in the appearance of punishment\*. The fact itself, however atrocious, is not the principal point to be considered. It might have happened under a more regular government, and with guards better disciplined than ours. The main question is, in what manner have the ministry  
acted

\* A few of them were confined.

acted on this extraordinary occasion. A general officer calls upon the King's own guard, then actually on duty, to rescue him from the laws of his country; yet at this moment he is in a situation no worse, than if he had not committed an offence, equally enormous in a civil and military view.—A lieutenant upon duty designedly quits his guard, and suffers it to be drawn out by another officer, for a purpose he well knew (as we may collect from appearance of caution, which only makes his behaviour the more criminal) to be in the highest degree illegal. Has this gentleman been called to a court-martial to answer for his conduct? No. Has it been censured? No. Has it been in any shape inquired into? No.—Another lieutenant, not upon duty, nor even in his regimentals, is daring enough to order out the King's guard, over which he had properly no command, and engages them in a violation of the laws of his country, perhaps the most singular and extravagant that ever was attempted.—What punishment has *he* suffered? Literally none. Supposing he should be prosecuted at common law for the rescue, will that circumstance, from which the ministry can derive no merit, excuse or justify their suffering so flagrant a breach of military discipline to pass by unpunished, and unnoticed? Are they aware .

aware of the outrage offered to their Sovereign, when his own proper guard is ordered out to stop by main force, the execution of his laws? What are we to conclude from so scandalous a neglect of their duty, but that they have other views, which can only be answered by securing the attachment of the guards? The minister would hardly be so cautious of offending them, if he did not mean, in due time, to call for their assistance.

With respect to the parties themselves, let it be observed, that these gentlemen are neither young officers, nor very young men. Had they belonged to the unfeathered race of ensigns, who infest our streets, and dishonour our public places, it might perhaps be sufficient to send them back to that discipline, from which their parents, judging lightly from the maturity of their vices, had removed them too soon. In this case, I am sorry to see, not so much the folly of youth, as the spirit of the corps, and the connivance of government. I do not question that there are many brave and worthy officers in the regiment of guards. But considering them as a corps, I fear, it will be found that they are neither good soldiers, nor good subjects. Far be it from me to insinuate the most distant reflection upon the army. On the contrary, I honour and esteem the profession; and if these gen-

lemen were better soldiers, I am sure they would be better subjects. It is not that there is an internal vice or defect in the profession itself, as regulated in this country, but that it is the spirit of this particular corps to despise their profession, and that, while they vainly assume the lead of the army, they make it matter of impudent comparison and triumph over the bravest troops in the world (I mean our marching regiments) that *they* indeed stand upon higher ground, and are privileged to neglect the laborious forms of military discipline and duty. Without dwelling longer upon a most invidious subject, I shall leave it to military men, who have seen a service more active than the parade, to determine whether or no I speak truth.

How far this dangerous spirit has been encouraged by government, and to what pernicious purposes it may be applied hereafter, well deserves our most serious consideration. I know indeed, that when this affair happened, an affectation of alarm ran through the ministry. Something must be done to save appearances. The case was too flagrant to be passed by absolutely without notice. But how have they acted? Instead of ordering the officers concerned, and who strictly speaking, are alone

alone guilty, to be put under arrest, and brought to trial, they would have it understood, that they did their duty compleatly, in confining a serjeant and four private soldiers, until they should be demanded by the civil power ; so that while the officers, who ordered or permitted the thing to be done, escape without censure, the poor men who obeyed those orders, who in a military view are no way responsible for what they did, and who for that reason have been discharged by the civil magistrates, are the only objects whom the ministry have thought proper to expose to punishment. They did not venture to bring even these men to a court martial, because they knew their evidence would be fatal to some persons, whom they were determined to protect. Otherwise, I doubt not, the lives of these unhappy, friendless soldiers would long since have been sacrificed without scruple, to the security of their guilty officers.

I have been accused of endeavouring to enflame the passions of the people.—Let me now appeal to their understanding. If there be any tool of administration daring enough to deny these facts, or shameless enough to defend the conduct of the ministry, let him come forward. I care not un-

der what title he appears. He shall find me ready to maintain the truth of my narrative, and the justice of my observations upon it, at the hazard of my utmost credit with the public.

Under the most arbitrary governments, the common administration of justice is suffered to take its course. The subject, though robbed of his share in the legislature, is still protected by the laws. The political freedom of the English constitution was once the pride and honour of an Englishman. The civil equality of the laws preserved the property, and defended the safety of the subject. Are these glorious privileges, the birthright of the people, or are we only tenants at the will of the ministry?—But that I know there is a spirit of resistance in the hearts of my countrymen, that they value life, not by its conveniences, but by the independance and dignity of their condition, I should, at this moment, appeal only to their discretion. I should persuade them to banish from their minds all memory of what we were; I should tell them this is not a time to remember that we were Englishmen; and give it as my last advice, to make some early agreement with the minister, that since it has pleased him to rob us of those political rights, which

which once distinguished the inhabitants of a country, where honour was happiness, he would leave us at least the humble, obedient security of citizens, and graciously condescend to protect us in our submission.

J U N I U S.

L E T-

## LETTER XXXVI.

A LETTER OF MODESTUS TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

13 Nov. 1769

**T**HREE weeks are elapsed since you favoured the public with an essay on the arrest of a general officer. You wrested the circumstances with which it was attended, into a crime against administration. You told the story in your own way; you reasoned upon it in your own way also; you abused, you praised, you challenged, and you concluded. In all this it would be difficult to decide, whether the inveteracy of your malice, the absurdity of your argument, the barbarity of your intention, or the dullness of your stile and composition, appeared most conspicuous.

But, Sir, waving the rest, you *challenged*, and these are the precise terms of your defiance: ‘ I  
‘ have been accused of endeavouring to inflame  
‘ the passions of the people—let me now appeal  
‘ to their understanding.—If there be any tool  
‘ of administration daring enough to deny these  
‘ facts, or shameless enough to defend the conduct  
‘ of the ministry, let him come forward. care  
‘ not

' not under what title he appears. He shall find  
' me ready to maintain the truth of my narra-  
' tive, and the justice of my observations upon  
' it, at the hazard of my utmost credit with the  
' public.'

Two days after your letter made its appearance in the Public Advertiser, an answer to it appeared in the Gazetteer, in which your challenge was accepted in the following words: ' You chal-  
' lenge any tool of administration to defend the  
' conduct of ministry; I accept of your challenge,  
' though it is not addressed to me. I am no tool  
' of administration, but your equal, Junius, per-  
' haps your superior, in every thing that may be-  
' come a man. I desire for judges of the contest,  
' justice, candor and impartiality. I dare you to  
' the uttermost; and if I do not make you appear,  
' in the eyes of all reasonable men, as contempti-  
' ble, as you deserve to be, let the scorn be trans-  
' ferred to myself.'

What is the reason, Junius, that you have hitherto taken no notice of that letter? The author of it, too candid to affirm what he could not immediately prove, supposed, in his argument, your narrative to be true; and even on that supposition, he demonstrated your observations not only unjust, but inconsistent, even to absurdity.

But

But if he could not with certain knowledge deny the fact, he doubted it; he told you so; and, in the belief that no man would give a formal challenge without pursuing it, he has enquired into the truth of that fact. He tells you now, and will maintain it at the utmost hazard of *his* credit with the public, that your narrative is no less false than your observations are fallacious. It is false (for instance) that the general officer applied to a serjeant, not on duty, to favour his escape. It is false, that the officer of the guard stood at a distance, and suffered the business to be done. He was spoke to by the other officer in the coffee-house, and he not only declined interfering in person, but flatly refused his assistance directly or indirectly. He did more; he dissuaded his brother officer from his intention, and believed he had prevailed. His only fault was, being the dupe of the others apparent repentance, who left the coffee-house as if he intended to proceed no farther in the attempt; and took the opportunity to apply to some soldiers of the guard, while the officer who commanded it remained in the coffee-house. It is false that the guard was turned out, or under arms. And it is a most malicious construction of the fairest conduct, to blame administration, because these gentlemen have not been punished by military law.

The

The truth is, that it was proposed to try the offenders by military law, immediately after the offence was committed ; but, in a consultation with the civil magistrate, it was judged improper, lest a military trial should prejudge the action now depending, and in which the offenders are at present under bail. A fair trial is the right of every Englishman, whatever offence he may be guilty of. Our civil rights are our most precious blessings ; and our form of trial is the bulwark of these rights ; and, Sir, you contradict the principles you profess, when you endeavour to set up martial, in opposition to common law, and give that the lead which ought to follow. Had these gentlemen been first tried by military law, the evidences brought before a court-martial must have been afterwards examined in the courts of law ; but witnesses already examined upon oath, according to the arbitrary proceedings of a court-martial, cannot be unexceptionable in a subsequent civil action. Their evidence, however extorted, would awe them to conceal, or disguise the truth, which our form of civil trial is so well calculated to discover. And you, Junius, a patriot, an assertor of the rights of Englishmen, would have declaimed and exclaimed, with some appearance of justice, against the proceedings of a

court-martial, which should have deprived these officers of that fair and legal trial, which they have a right, as Englishmen, to demand.

Our military laws prescribe the punishment of cashiering, for offences of this nature. But how is this crime to be proved? Only by the verdict of a jury in a civil action; and the judgment upon it is evidence of record in the subsequent court-martial: but these are matters of which you are ignorant. You go on in your own method, to clap the cart before the horse; and you would have punished by military law, an offence which military law cannot take cognizance of, until it has been legally found one by the verdict of a jury. Thus, blinded by your passion, or unacquainted with the constitution, you would overturn it, to wreck your resentment against a ministry, which, in this instance at least, has acted in its truest spirit.

It is time, Junius, you should think of the challenge you gave. I know you to be slow, and I have not hurried you. But something is due to your character; which has already suffered in the article of challenges. I should wish to meet you on this ground; or, indeed, on any other. Stand forward, man, the cause is not so bad, but something may still be said for it: you can, at least,

call

call names. I warn you, however, that I shall take no notice of any of your myrmidons ; not even Philo-Junius, should you write another letter under that signature. But I warn you also, that if you suffer yourself to be thus insulted, after the provocation you have given, you are ruined with the public, and you will pass, even in the opinion of Wilkes and Liberty, for what you are, the baffled emissary of a desperate faction.

MODESTUS.

## LETTER XXXVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC  
ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Nov. 14. 1769.

**T**H E variety of remarks, which has been made upon the last letter of JUNIUS, and my own opinion of the writer, who, whatever may be his faults, is certainly not a weak man, have induced me to examine, with some attention, the subject of that letter. I could not persuade myself that, while he had plenty of important materials, he would have taken up a light or trifling occasion to attack the ministry; much less could I conceive that it was his intention to ruin the officers concerned in the rescue of general Gansel, or to injure the general himself. These are little objects, and can no way contribute to the great purposes he seems to have in view by addressing himself to the public.—Without considering the ornamented stile he has adopted, I determined to look farther into the matter, before I decided upon the merits of his letter.

letter. The first step I took was to enquire into the truth of the facts ; for if these were either false or misrepresented, the most artful exertion of his understanding, in reasoning upon them, would only be a disgrace to him.—Now, Sir, I have found every circumstance stated by JUNIUS to be literally true. General Gansel persuaded the bailiffs to conduct him to the parade, and certainly solicited a Corporal and other Soldiers to assist him in making his escape. Captain Dodd did certainly apply to Captain Garth for the assistance of his guard. Capt. Garth declined appearing himself, but stood aloof, while the other took upon him to order out the King's guard, and by main force rescued the General. It is also strictly true, that the General was escorted by a file of musqueteers to a place of security.—These are facts, Mr. Woodfall, which I promise you no gentleman in the guards will deny. If all or any of them are false, why are they not contradicted by the parties themselves ? However secure against military censure, they have yet a character to lose, and surely, if they are innocent, it is not beneath them to pay some attention to the opinion of the public.

The force of JUNIUS's observations upon these facts cannot be better marked, than by stating and refuting the objections which have been made to them.

them. One writer says, “ Admitting the officers “ have offended, they are punishable at common “ law, and will you have a British subject punish-“ ed twice for the same offence ? ”—I answer that they have committed two offences, both very enormous, and violated two laws. The rescue is one offence, the flagrant breach of discipline another, and hitherto it does not appear that they have been punished, or even censured for either. Another gentleman lays much stress upon the calamity of the case, and, instead of disproving facts, appeals at once to the compassion of the public. This idea, as well as the insinuation *that depriving the parties of their commissions would be an injury to their creditors*, can only refer to General Gansel. The other officers are in no distress, therefore, have no claim to compassion, nor does it appear, that their creditors, if they have any, are more likely to be satisfied by their continuing in the guards. But this sort of plea will not hold in any shape. Compassion to an offender, who has grossly violated the laws, is in effect a cruelty to the peaceable subject who has observed them ; and even admitting the force of any alleviating circumstances, it is nevertheless true, that, in this instance, the royal compassion has interposed too soon. The legal and proper

proper mercy of a King of England may remit the punishment, but ought not to stop the trial.

Besides these particular objections, there has been a cry raised against JUNIUS for his malice and injustice in attacking the ministry upon an event, which they could neither hinder nor foresee. This, I must affirm, is a false representation of his argument. He lays no stress upon the event itself, as a ground of accusation against the ministry, but dwells entirely upon their subsequent conduct. He does not say that they are answerable for the offence, but for the scandalous neglect of their duty, in suffering an offence, so flagrant, to pass by without notice or inquiry. Supposing them ever so regardless of what they owe to the public, and as indifferent about the opinion as they are about the interests of their country, what answer, as officers of the crown, will they give to JUNIUS, when he asks them,—“ Are they aware of the outrage offered to their Sovereign, when his own proper guard is ordered out to stop, by main force, “ the execution of his laws ?”—And when we see a ministry giving such a strange unaccountable protection to the officers of the guards, is it unfair to suspect, that they have some secret and unwarrantable motives for their conduct ? If they feel themselves injured by such a suspicion, why do they immedi-

not immediately clear themselves from it, by doing their duty? For the honour of the guards, I cannot help expressing another suspicion, that, if the commanding officer had not received a secret injunction to the contrary, he would, in the ordinary course of his business, have applied for a court martial to try the two subalterns? the one for quitting his guard;—the other for taking upon him the command of the guard, and employing it in the manner he did. I do not mean to enter into or defend the severity, with which JUNIUS treats the guards. On the contrary, I will suppose, for a moment, that they deserve a very different character. If this be true, in what light will they consider the conduct of the two subalterns, but as a general reproach and disgrace to the whole corps? And will they not wish to see them censured in a military way, if it were only for the credit and discipline of the regiment?

Upon the whole, Sir, the ministry seem to me to have taken a very improper advantage of the good-nature of the public, whose humanity, they found, considering nothing in this affair but the distress of Gen. Gansel. They would persuade us that it was only a common rescue by a few disorderly soldiers, and not the formal deliberate act of

the

the King's guard, headed by an officer, and the public has fallen into the deception. I think, therefore, we are obliged to JUNIUS for the care he has taken to inquire into the facts, and for the just commentary with which he has given them to the world.—For my own part, I am as unwilling as any man to load the unfortunate ; but, really, Sir, the precedent, with respect to the guards, is of a most important nature, and alarming enough (considering the consequences with which it may be attended) to deserve a parliamentary inquiry : when the guards are daring enough, not only to violate their own discipline, but publicly and with the most atrocious violence to stop the execution of the laws, and when such extraordinary offences pass with impunity, believe me, Sir, the precedent strikes deep.

PHILO JUNIUS.

## LETTER XXXVIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Nov. 15, 1769.

I ADMIT the claim of a gentleman, who publishes in the Gazetteer under the name of *Modestus*. He has some right to expect an answer from me; though, I think, not so much from the merit or importance of his objections, as from my own voluntary engagement. I had a reason for not taking notice of him sooner, which as he is a candid person, I believe he will think sufficient. In my first letter, I took for granted, from the time which had elapsed, that there was no intention to censure, nor even to try the persons concerned in the rescue of general Gansel; but *Modestus* having since either affirmed, or strongly insinuated, that the offenders might still be brought to a legal trial, any attempt to prejudice the minds of the jury, would be highly improper.

A man, more hostile to the ministry than I am, would not so often remind them of their duty. If  
the

If the duke of Grafton will not perform the duty of his station, why is he minister?—I will not descend to a scurrilous altercation with any man: but this is a subject too important to be passed over with a silent indifference. If the gentlemen, whose conduct is in question, are not brought to a trial, the Duke of Grafton shall hear from me again.

The motives on which I am supposed to have taken up this cause, are of little importance, compared with the facts themselves, and the observations I have made upon them. Without a vain profession of integrity, which, in these times might justly be suspected, I shall shew myself in effect a friend to the interests of my countrymen, and leave it to them to determine, whether I am moved by a personal malevolence to three private gentlemen, or merely a hope of perplexing the ministry, or whether I am animated by a just and honourable purpose of obtaining a satisfaction to the laws of this country, equals if possible, to the violation they have suffered.

JUNIUS.

H h 2

LET-

## LETTER XXXIX.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

Nov. 29, 1769.

THOUGH my opinion of your Grace's integrity was but little affected by the coyness with which you received Mr. Vaughan's proposals, I confess I give you some credit for your discretion. You had a fair opportunity of displaying a certain delicacy, of which you had not been suspected; and you were in the right to make use of it. By laying in a moderate stock of reputation, you undoubtedly meant to provide for the future necessities of your character, that with an honourable resistance upon record, you might safely indulge your genius, and yield to a favourite inclination with security. But you have discovered your purposes too soon, and, instead of the modest reserve of virtue, have shewn us the termagant chastity of a prude, who gratifies her passions with distinction, and prosecutes one lover for a rape, while she solicits the lewd embraces of another.

Your

Your cheek turns pale : for a guilty conscience tells you, you are undone.—Come forward, thou virtuous minister, and tell the world by what interest Mr. Hine has been recommended to so extraordinary a mark of his Majesty's favour ; what was the price of the patent he has bought, and to what honourable purpose the purchase money has been applied. Nothing less than many thousands could pay Colonel Burgoyne's expences at Preston. Do you dare to prosecute such a creature as Vaughan, while you are basely setting up the Royal Patronage to auction? Do you dare to complain of an attack upon your own honour, while you are selling the favours of the crown, to raise a fund for corrupting the morals of the people? And, do you think it possible such enormities should escape without impeachment? It is indeed highly your interest to maintain the present house of commons. Having sold the nation to you in gross, they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail ; for while they patronize your crimes, they feel for their own.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LEFT LETTER XXXXL.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

*Dec. 12, 1769.*

I FIND with some surprize, that you are not supported as you deserve. Your most determined advocates have scruples about them, which you are unacquainted with ; and, though there be nothing too hazardous for your Grace to engage in, there are some things too infamous for the vilest prostitute of a news-paper to defend\*. In what other manner shall we account for the profound, submissive silence, which you and your friends have observed upon a charge which called immediately for the clearest refutation, and would have justified the severest measures of resentment ? If did not attempt to blast your character by an indirect, ambiguous insinuation, but candidly stated to you

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\* From the publication of the preceding to this date, not one word was said in defence of the infamous Duke of Grafton. But vice and impudence soon recovered themselves, and the sale of the royal favour was openly avowed and defended. We acknowledge the piety of St. James's ; but what is become of his morality ?

a plain fact, which struck directly at the integrity of a privy-counsellor, of a first commissioner of the treasury, and of a leading minister, who is supposed to enjoy the first share in his Majesty's confidence\*. In every one of these capacities I employed the most moderate terms to charge you with treachery to your Sovereign, and breach of trust in your office. I accused you of having sold, a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter, to one Mr. Hine, who, unable or unwilling to deposit the whole purchase-money himself, raised part of it by contribution, and has now a certain Dr. Brooke quartered upon the salary for one hundred pounds a year.— No sale by the candle was ever conducted with greater formality.—I affirm that the price, at which the place was knocked down (and which, I have good reason to think, was not less than three thousand five hundred pounds) was, with your connivance and consent, paid to Colonel Burgoyne, to reward him, I presume, for the decency of his deportment at Preston; or to reimburse him, perhaps, for the fine of one thousand pounds, which, for that very deportment, the court of King's Bench thought proper to set upon him.—It is not often that the Chief Justice and the Prime Minister

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\* And by the same means preserve it to this hour.

are so strangely at variance in their opinions of men and things.

I thank God there is not in human nature a degree of impudence daring enough to deny the charge I have fixed upon you. \* Your courteous secretary, your confidential architect, are silent as the grave. Even Mr. Rigby's countenance fails him. He violates his second nature, and blushes whenever he speaks of you.—Perhaps the noble Colonel himself will relieve you. No man is more tender of his reputation. He is not only nice, but perfectly sore in every thing that touches his honour. If any man, for example, were to accuse him of taking his stand at a gaming-table, and watching, with the soberest attention, for a fair opportunity of engaging a drunken young nobleman at picquet, he would undoubtedly consider it as an infamous aspersion upon his character, and resent it like a man of honour.—Acquitting him therefore of drawing a regular and splendid subsistence from any unworthy practices, either in his own house or elsewhere, let me ask your Grace, for what military merits you have been pleased

\* Tommy Bradshaw.

† Mr. Taylor. He and George Ross, (the Scotch agent and worthy confidant of lord Mansfield) managed the business.

pleased to reward him with military government? He had a regiment of dragoons, which one would imagine, was at least an equivalent for any services he ever performed. Besides, he is but a young officer, considering his preferment, and, excepting his activity at Preston, not very conspicuous in his profession. But it seems, the sale of a civil employment was not sufficient, and military governments, which were intended for the support of worn-out veterans, must be thrown into the scale, to defray the extensive bribery of a contested election. Are these the steps you take to secure to your Sovereign the attachment of his army? With what countenance dare you appear in the royal presence, branded as you are with the infamy of a notorious breach of trust? With what countenance can you take your seat at the treasury-board, or in council, when you feel that every circulating whisper is at your expence alone, and stabs you to the heart? Have you a single friend in parliament so shameless, so thoroughly abandoned, as to undertake your defence? You know, my Lord, that there is not a man in either house, whose character, however flagitious, would not be ruined by mixing his reputation with yours; and does not your heart inform you, that you are degraded below the condition of a man, when you

are obliged to hear these insults with submission, and even to thank me for my moderation?

\* We are told, by the highest judicial authority, that

\* A little before the publication of this and the preceding letter, the chaste Duke of Grafton had commenced a prosecution against Mr. Samuel Vaughan, for endeavouring to corrupt his integrity by an offer of five thousand pounds for a patent place in Jamaica. A rule to shew cause, why an information shou'd not be exhibited against Vaughan for certain misdemeanors, being granted by the court of King's Bench, the matter was solemnly argued on the 27th of November, 1769, and, by the unanimous opinion of the four judges, the rule was made absolute. The pleadings and speeches were accurately taken in short-hand and published. The whole of lord Mansfield's speech, and particularly the following extracts from it, deserve the reader's attention. "A practice of the kind complained of here is certainly dis- honourable and scandalous.—If a man, standing under the relation of an officer under the King, or of a person in whom the king puts confidence, or of a minister, takes money for the use of that confidence the king puts in him, he basely betrays the king,—he basely betrays his trust.—If the king sold the office, it would be acting contrary to the trust the constitution reposed in him. The constitution does not intend the crown should sell those offices, to raise a revenue out of them.—Is it possible to hesitate, whether this would not be criminal in the Duke of Grafton;—contrary to his duty as a privy counsellor;—contrary to his duty as a minister—contrary to his duty as a subject.—His advice should be free according to his judgment;—It is the duty of his office;—he was sworn to it."—Notwithstanding all this, the chaste Duke of Grafton

that Mr. Vaughan's offer to purchase the reversion of a patent in Jamaica (which he was otherwise sufficiently entitled to) amounted to a high misdemeanour. Be it so: and if he deserves it, let him be punished. But the learned judge might have had a fairer opportunity of displaying the powers of his eloquence. Having delivered himself with so much energy upon the criminal nature, and dangerous consequences of any attempt to corrupt a man in your Grace's station, what would he have said to the minister himself, to that very privy-counsellor, to that first commissioner of the treasury, who does not wait for, but impatiently solicits

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Grafton certainly sold a patent place to Mr. Hine for three thousand five hundred pounds; and, for so doing, is now lord Privy Seal to the chaste George, with whose piety we are perpetually deafened. If the house of commons had done their duty, and impeached the black Duke for this most infamous breach of trust, how woefully must poor, honest Mansfield have been puzzled! His embarrassment would have afforded the most ridiculous scene, that ever was exhibited. To save the worthy judge from this perplexity, and the no less worthy Duke from impeachment, the prosecution against Vaughan was, immediately dropped upon my discovery and publication of the Duke's treachery. The suffering this charge to pass, without any inquiry, fixes shameless prostitution upon the face of the house of commons, more strongly than even the Middlesex election.---Yet the licentiousness of the press is complained of!

the touch of corruption ; who employs the meanest of his creatures in these honourable services, and, forgetting the genius and fidelity of his secretary, descends to apply to his house-builder for assistance ?

This affair, my Lord, will do infinite credit to government, if, to clear your character, you should think proper to bring it into the house of Lords, or into the court of King's Bench.—But, my Lord, you dare not do either.

JUNIUS.

LET

## LETTER XLI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

Dec. 19, 1769,

When the complaints of a brave and powerful people are observed to increase in proportion to the wrongs they have suffered; when, instead of sinking into submission, they are roused to resistance, the time will soon arrive, at which every inferior consideration must yield to the security of the Sovereign, and to the general safety of the state. There is a moment of difficulty and danger, at which flattery and falsehood can no longer deceive, and simplicity itself can no longer be misled. Let us suppose it arrived. Let us suppose a gracious, well-intentioned Prince, made sensible at last of the great duty he owes to his people, and of his own disgraceful situation; that he looks round him for assistance, and asks for no advice, but how to gratify the wishes, and secure the happiness of his subjects. In these circumstances, it may be a matter of curious *SPECULATION* to consider, if an *honest* man were permitted to approach

approach a King, in what terms he would address himself to his Sovereign. Let it be imagined, no matter how improbable, that the first prejudice against his character is removed, that the ceremonious difficulties of an audience are surmounted, that he feels himself animated by the purest and most honourable affections to his King and country, and that the great person, whom he addresses, has spirit enough to bid him speak freely, and understanding enough to listen to him with attention. Unacquainted with the vain impertinence of forms, he would deliver his sentiments with dignity and firmness, but not without respect.

SIR,

IT is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cause of every reproach and distress, which has attended your government, that you should never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not, however, too late to correct the error of your education. We are still inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious lessons you received in your youth, and to form the most sanguine hopes from the natural benevolence

lence of your disposition\*. We are far from thinking you capable of a direct, deliberate purpose to invade those original rights of your subjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend. Had it been possible for us to entertain a suspicion so dishonourable to your character, we should long since have adopted a style of remonstrance very distant

\* The plan of tutelage and future dominion over the heir apparent, laid many years ago at Carlton-house between the Princess Dowager and her favourite the Earl of Bute, was as gross and palpable, as that, which was concerted between Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, to govern Lewis the Fourteenth, and in effect to prolong his minority until the end of their lives. That prince had strong natural parts, and used to blush for his own ignorance and want of education, which had been wilfully neglected by his mother and her minion. A little experience however soon shewed him how shamefully he had been treated, and for what infamous purposes he had been kept in ignorance. Our great Edward too, at an early period, had sense enough to understand the nature of the connection between his abandoned mother and the detested Mortimer. But, since that time, human nature, we may慈悲 we, is greatly altered for the better. Dowagers may be chaste, and minions may be honest. When it was proposed to settle the present king's household as Prince of Wales, it is well known that the Earl of Bute was forced into it, in direct contradiction to the late king's inclination. That was the salient point, from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign, took life and motion. From that moment Lord Bute never suffered the Prince of Wales to be an instant out of his sight.—We need look no farther.

tant from the humility of complaint. The doctrine inculcated by our laws, *That the King can do no Wrong*, is admitted without reluctance. We separate the amiable, good-natured Prince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Were it not for this just distinction, I know not whether your Majesty's condition, or that of the English nation, would deserve to be most lamented. I would prepare your mind for a favourable reception of truth, by removing every painful, offensive idea of personal reproach. Your subjects, Sir, wish for nothing but that, as they are reasonable and affectionate enough to separate your person from your government, so you, in your turn, should distinguish between the conduct, which becomes the permanent dignity of a King, and that which serves only to promote the temporary interest and miserable ambition of a minister.

You ascended the throne with a declared, and I doubt not, a sincere resolution of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects. You found them pleased with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words, and loyal to you not only from principle, but passion. It was not a cold profession of allegiance to the first magistrate, but a partial, animated attachment

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ment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for the future blessings of your reign, and paid you in advance the dearest tribute of their affections. Such, Sir, was once the disposition of a people, who now surround your throne with reproaches and complaints. Do justice to yourself. Banish from your mind those unworthy\*opinions with which some interested persons have laboured to possess you. Distrust the men, who tell you that the English are naturally light and inconstant ;—that they complain without a cause. Withdraw your confidence equally from all parties ; from ministers, favourites, and relations ; and let there be one moment in your life, in which you have consulted your own understanding.

When you affectedly renounced the name of Englishman, believe me, Sir, you were persuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your subjects, at the expence of another. While the natives of Scotland are not in actual rebellion, they are undoubtedly intitled to protection ; nor do I mean to condemn the policy of giving some encouragement to the novelty of their affections for the house of Hanover. I am ready to hope for

every thing from their new-born zeal, and from the future steadiness of their allegiacne. But hitherto they have no claim to your favour. To honour them with a determined predilection and confidence, in exclusion of your English subjects, who placed your family, and, in spite of treachery and rebellion, have supported it upon the throne, is a mistake too gros, even for the unsuspecting generosity of youth. In this error we see a capital violation of the most obvious rules of policy and prudence. We trace it, however, to an original bias in your education, and are ready to allow for your inexperience.

To the same early influence we attribute it, that you have descended to take a share not only in the narrow views and interests of particular persons, but in the fatal malignity of their passions. At your accession to the throne, the whole system of government was altered, not from wisdom or deliberation, but because it had been adopted by your predecessor. A little, personal motive of pique and resentment was sufficient to remove the ablest servants of the crown\*; but it is not in this country,

Sir,

\* One of the first acts of the present reign was to dismiss Mr. Legge, because he had some years before refused to yield his interest in Hampshire to a Scotchman recommended by Lord Bute. This was the reason publicly assigned by his lordship.

Sir, that such men can be dishonoured by the frowns of a King. They were dismissed, but could not be disgraced. Without entering into a minuter discussion of the merits of the peace, we may observe, in the imprudent hurry with which the first overtures from France were accepted, in the conduct of the negotiation, and terms of the treaty, the strongest marks of that precipitate spirit of concession, with which a certain part of your subjects have been at all times ready to purchase a peace with the natural enemies of this country. On *your* part we are satisfied that every thing was honourable and sincere, and if England was sold to France, we doubt not that your Majesty was equally betrayed. The conditions of the peace were matter of grief and surprise to your subjects, but not the immediate cause of their present discontent.

Hitherto, Sir, you had been sacrificed to the prejudices and passions of others. With what firmness will you bear the mention of your own?

A man, not very honourably distinguished in the world, commences a formal attack upon your favourite, considering nothing, but how he might best expose his person and principles to detestation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt. The natives of that country, Sir, are

as much distinguished by a peculiar character as by your Majesty's favour. Like another chosen people, they have been conducted into the land of plenty, where they find themselves effectually marked, and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period, at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed. The mistakes of one sex find a retreat in patriotism ; those of the other in devotion. Mr. Wilkes brought with him into politics the same liberal sentiments by which his private conduct had been directed, and seemed to think, that, as there are few excesses, in which an English gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the spirit of maintaining them.—I mean to state, not entirely to defend his conduct. In the earnestness of his zeal, he suffered some unwarrantable insinuations to escape him. He said more than moderate men would justify ; but not enough to entitle him to the honour of your Majesty's personal resentment. The rays of Royal indignation, collected upon him, served only to illuminate, and could not consume. Animated by the favour of the people on one side, and heated by persecution on the other, his views and sentiments changed with his situation. Hardly serious at first,

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he is now an enthusiast. The coldest bodies warm with opposition, the hardest sparkle in collision. There is a holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. The passions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cause for which we suffer.—Is this a contention worthy of a King? Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air of ridicule to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed? The destruction of one man has been now, for many years, the sole object of your government, and if there can be any thing still more disgraceful, we have seen, for such an object, the utmost influence of the executive power, and every ministerial artifice exerted without success. Nor can you ever succeed, unless *he* should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws, to which you owe your crown; or unless your ministers should persuade you to make it a question of force alone, and try the whole strength of government in opposition to the people. The lessons *he* has received from experience, will probably guard him from such excesses of folly; and in your Majesty's virtues we find an unquestionable assurance that no illegal violence will be attempted.

Far

Far from suspecting you of so horrible a design, we would attribute the continued violation of the laws, and even this last enormous attack upon the vital principles of the constitution, to an ill-advised, unworthy, personal resentment. From one false step you have been betrayed into another, and as the cause was unworthy of you, your ministers were determined that the prudence of the execution should correspond with the wisdom and dignity of the design. They have reduced you to the necessity of choosing out of a variety of difficulties;—to a situation so unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction. These worthy servants have undoubtedly given you many singular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciously transferred the question from the rights and interests of one man to the most important rights and interests of the people, and forced your subjects from wishing well to the cause of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your Majesty need not doubt that the catastrophe will do no dishonour to the conduct of the piece.

The circumstances to which you are reduced, will not admit of a compromise with the English nation

nation. Undecisive, qualifying measures will disgrace your government still more than open violence, and, without satisfying the people, will excite their contempt. They have too much understanding and spirit to accept of an indirect satisfaction for a direct injury. Nothing less than a repeal, as formal as the resolution itself, can heal the wound, which has been given to the constitution, nor will any thing less be accepted. I can readily believe that there is an influence sufficient to recall that pernicious vote. The house of commons undoubtedly consider their duty to the crown as paramount to all other obligations. To *us* they are only indebted for an accidental existence, and have justly transferred their gratitude from their parents to their benefactors;—from those, who gave them birth, to the minister, from whose benevolence they derive the comforts and pleasures of their political life;—who has taken the tenderest care of their infancy, relieves their necessities without offending their delicacy, and has given them, what they value most, a virtuous education. But, if it were possible for their integrity to be degraded to a condition so vile and abject, that, compared with it, the present estimation they stand in is a state of honour and respect, consider, Sir, in what manner you will afterwards proceed

proceed. Can you conceive that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a house of commons! It is not in the nature of human society, that any form of government, in such circumstances, can long be preserved. In ours the general contempt of the people is as fatal as their detestation. Such, I am persuaded, would be the necessary effect of any base concession made by the present house of commons, and, as a qualifying measure would not be accepted, it remains for you to decide whether you will, at any hazard, support a set of men, who have reduced you to this unhappy dilemma, or whether you will gratify the united wishes of the whole people of England by dissolving the parliament.

Taking it for granted, as I do very sincerely, that you have personally no design against the constitution, nor any view inconsistent with the good of your subjects, I think you cannot hesitate long upon the choice, which it equally concerns your interest, and your honour to adopt. On one side, you hazard the affections of all your English subjects; you relinquish every hope of repose to yourself, and you endanger the establishment of your family for ever. All this you venture for no object whatsoever, or for such an object, as it would be an affront to you to name. Men of sense

sense will examine your conduct with suspicion; while those who are incapable of comprehending to what degree they are injured, afflict you with clamours equally insolent and unmeaning. Supposing it possible that no fatal struggle should ensue, you determine at once to be unhappy, without the hope of a compensation either from interest or ambition. If an English King be hated or despised, he *must* be unhappy; and this perhaps is the only political truth, which he ought to be convinced of without experiment. But if the English people should no longer confine their resentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs; if, following the glorious example of their ancestors, they should no longer appeal to the creature of the constitution, but to that high Being who gave them the rights of humanity, whose gifts it were sacrilege to surrender, let me ask you, Sir, upon what part of your subjects you would rely for assistance.

The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. They despise the miserable governor you have sent them\*,

VOL. I.

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because

\* Viscount Townshend, sent over on the plan of being resident governor. The history of his ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public.

because he is the creature of lord Bute; nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas, that they are so ready to confound the original of a king with the disgraceful representation of him.

The distance of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between *you* and your ministers. They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the crown: They pleased themselves with the hope that their Sovereign, if not favourable to their cause, at least was impartial. The decisive, personal part you took against them, has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds\*. They consider you as united with your servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Sovereign and a venal parliament on one side, from the real senti-

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\* In the king's speech of 8 November, 1768, it was declared, " That the spirit of faction had broke out a fresh in some of the colonies, and, in one of them, proceeded to acts of violence and resistance, to the execution of the laws;—that Boston was in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and had proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances, that manifested a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain."

ments of the English people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might possibly receive you for their king; but, if ever you retire to America, be assured they will give you such a covenant to digest, as the presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the Second. They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree; they equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop.

It is not then from the alienated affections of Ireland or America, that you can reasonably look for assistance; still less from the people of England, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great question, are parties against you. You are not however, destitute of every appearance of support: You have all the Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories of this country, and all Scotland without exception. Considering from what family you are descended, the choice of your friends has been singularly directed; and truly, Sir, if you had not lost the whig interest of England, I should admire your dexterity in turning the hearts of your enemies. Is it possible for you to place any confidence in men, who, before they

are faithful to you, must renounce every opinion, and betray every principle, both in church and state, which they inherit from their ancestors, and are confirmed in by their education? whose numbers are so inconsiderable, that they have long since been obliged to give up the principles and language which distinguished them as a party, and to fight under the banners of their enemies? Their zeal begins with hypocrisy, and must conclude in treachery. At first they deceive; at last they betray.

As to the Scotch, I must suppose your heart and understanding so biassed, from your earliest infancy, in their favour, that nothing less than *your own* misfortunes can undeceive you. You will not accept of the uniform experience of your ancestors; and when once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith. A bigoted understanding can draw a proof of attachment to the house of Hanover from a notorious zeal for the house of Stuart, and find an earnest of future loyalty in former rebellions. Appearances are however in their favour; so strongly indeed, that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful king, and had mistaken you for a pretender to the crown. Let it be admitted then that the Scotch are as sincere

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in their present professions, as if you were in reality not an Englishman, but a Briton of the North, you would not be the first Prince of their native country, against whom they have rebelled, nor the first whom they have basely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favourite concealed from you that part of our history, when the unhappy Charles (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open, avowed indignation of his English subjects, and surrendered himself at discretion to the good faith of his own countrymen. Without looking for support in their affections as subjects, he applied only to their honour as gentlemen, for protection. They received him as they would your Majesty, with bows, and similes, and falsehood, and kept him until they had settled their bargain with the English parliament; then basely sold their native king to the vengeance of his enemies. This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch parliament, representing the nation. A wise prince might draw from it two lessons of equal utility to himself. On one side he might learn to dread the undisguised resentment of a generous people, who dare openly assert their rights, and who in a just cause are ready to meet their Sovereign in the field. On the other side, he would be taught to apprehend

apprehend something far more formidable;—a fawning treachery, against which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend. The insidious smile upon the cheek would warn him of the canker in the heart.

From the uses, to which one part of the army has been too frequently applied, you have some reason to expect, that there are no services they would refuse. Here too we trace the partiality of your understanding. You take the sense of the army from the conduct of the guards, with the same justice with which you collect the sense of the people from the representations of the ministry. Your marching regiments, Sir, will not make the guards their example either as soldiers or subjects. They feel and resent, as they ought to do, that invariable, undistinguished favour with which the guards are treated; while those gallant troops\*, by

\*. The number of commissioned officers in the guards are to the marching regiments as one to eleven;—the number of regiments given to the guards, compared with those given to the line, is about three to one, at a moderate computation; consequently the partiality in favour of the guards is as thirty-three to one.—So much for the officers.—The private men have four-pence a day to subsist on; and five hundred lashes, if they desert. Under this punishment, they frequently expire. With these encouragements, it is supposed, they may be depended upon, whenever a certain person thinks it necessary to butcher his fellow subjects.

by whom every hazardous, every laborious service is performed, are left to perish in garrisons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten. If they had no sense of the great original duty they owe their country, their resentment would operate like patriotism, and leave your cause to be defended by those to whom you have lavished the rewards and honours of their profession. The Praetorian bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had still strength enough to awe the Roman populace; but when the distant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire.

On this side then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You may determine to support the very ministry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable situation: you may shelter yourself under the forms of a parliament, and set your people at defiance. But be assured, Sir, that such a resolution would be as imprudent as it would be odious. If it did not immediately shake your establishment, it would rob you of your peace of mind for ever.

On the other, how different is the prospect! How easy, how safe and honourable is the path before you! The English nation declare they are grossly injured by their representatives, and solicit  
your

your Majesty to exert your lawful prerogative; and give them an opportunity of recalling a trust, which, they find, has been so scandalously abused. You are not to be told that the power of the house of commons is not original, but delegated to them for the welfare of the people: from whom they received it. A question of right arises between the constituent and the representative body. By what authority shall it be decided? Will your Majesty interfere in a question in which you have properly no immediate concern? It would be a step equally odious and unnecessary. Shall the lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the commons? They cannot do it without a flagrant breach of the constitution. Or will you refer it to the judges? They have often told your ancestors, that the law of parliament is above them. What party then remains but to leave it to the people to determine for themselves? They alone are injured; and since there is no superior power to which the cause can be referred, they alone ought to determine.

I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument upon a subject already so discussed, that inspiration could hardly throw a new light upon it. There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your majesty to consider  
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the late proceedings of the house of commons. By depriving a subject of his birth-right, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legislature; and, tho' perhaps not with the same motives, have strictly followed the example of the long parliament, which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after, with as little ceremony, dissolved the house of lords. The same pretended power, which robs an English subject of his birthright, may rob an English King of his crown. In another view, the resolution of the house of commons, apparently not so dangerous to your Majesty, is still more alarming to your people. Not contented with divesting one man of his right, they have arbitrarily conveyed that right to another. They have set aside a return as illegal, without daring to censure those officers who were particularly apprized of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, not only by the declaration of the house, but expressly by the writ directed to them, and who nevertheless returned him as duly elected. They have rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion by which our laws judge of the sense of the people; they have transferred the right of election from the collective to the representative body; and by these acts, taken separately or together, they have essentially altered the original

constitution of the house of commons. Versed, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, in the English history, it cannot easily escape you, how much it is your interest, as well as your duty to prevent one of the three estates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or assuming the authority of them all. When once they have departed from the great constitutional line, by which all their proceedings should be directed, who will answer for their future moderation? Or what assurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will submit to a superior? Your Majesty may learn hereafter, how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied.

Some of your council, more candid than the rest, admit the abandoned profligacy of the present house of commons, but oppose their dissolution upon an opinion, I confess not very unwarrantable, that their successors would be equally at the disposal of the treasury. I cannot persuade myself that the nation will have profited so little by experience. But if that opinion were well founded, you might then gratify our wishes at an easy rate, and appease the present clamour against your government without offering any material injury to the favourite cause of corruption.

You

You have still an honourable part to act. The affections of your subjects may still be recovered. But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those little, personal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his punishment, and if resentment still prevails, make it, what it should have been long since, an act, not of mercy, but contempt. He will soon fall back into his natural station,—a silent senator and hardly supporting the weekly eloquence of a news paper. The gentle breath of peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest that lifts him from his place.

Without consulting your minister, call together your whole council. Let it appear to the public that you can determine and act for yourself. Come forward to your people. Lay aside the wretched formalities of a King, and speak to your subjects with the spirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgment will be no disgrace, but rather an honour to your understanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cause of complaint against your government; that you will give your confidence to no man, who

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does

does not possess the confidence of your subjects; and to leave it to themselves to determine, by their conduct at a future election, whether or not it be in reality the general sense of the nation, that their rights have been arbitrarily invaded by the present house of commons, and the constitution betrayed. They will then do justice to their representatives and to themselves.

These sentiments, Sir, and the style they are conveyed in, may be offensive perhaps, because they are new to you. Accustomed to the language of courtiers, you measure their affections by the vehemence of their expressions; and when they only praise you indirectly, you admire their sincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends, whose affections are founded upon a principle of personal attachments. The first foundation of friendship is not the power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received, and *may* be returned. The fortune which made you a King forbade you to have a friend. It is a law of nature which cannot be violated with impunity. The mistaken prince, who looks for friendship, will find a favourite, and in that favourite the ruin of his affairs.

The people of England are loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational, fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions. The name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible;—armed with the sovereign authority, their principles were formidable. The Prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example; and while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember, that as it was acquired by one revolution it may be lost by another.

JUNIUS.

LET-

## LETTER XLII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

*Feb. 14, 1769.*

**I**F I were personally your enemy, I might pity and forgive you. You have every claim to compassion, that can arise from pity and distress. The condition you are reduced to would disarm a private enemy of his resentment, and leave no consolation to the most vindictive spirit, but that such an object, as you are, would disgrace the dignity of revenge. But in the relation you have borne to this country, you have no title to indulgence; and, If I had followed the dictates of my own opinion, I never should have allowed you the respite of a moment. In your public character, you have injured every subject of the empire; and though an individual is not authorised to forgive the injuries done to society, he is called upon to assert his separate share in the public resentment. I submitted however to the judgment of men, more moderate, perhaps more candid than myself. For my

my own part, I do not pretend to understand those prudent forms of decorum, those gentle rules of discretion, which some men endeavour to unite with the conduct of the greatest and most hazardous affairs. Engaged in the defence of an honourable cause, I would take a decisive part.—I should scorn to provide for a future retreat, or to keep terms with a man, who preserves no measures with the public. Neither the abject submission of deserting his post in the hour of danger, nor even the\* sacred shield of cowardice should protect him. I would pursue him through life, and try the last exertion of my abilities to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it immortal.

What then, my Lord, is this the event of all the sacrifices you have made to Lord Bute's patronage, and to your own unfortunate ambition? Was it for this you abandoned your earliest friendships, —the warmest connexions of your youth, and all those honourable engagements, by which you once solicited, and might have acquired the esteem of your country? Have you secured no recompence for such a waste of honour? Unhappy man! what party will receive the common deserter of all parties? Without a client to flatter, without

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\* — --- *Sacro tremuere timore. Every coward pretends to be planet-struck.*

a friend to console you, and with only one companion from the honest house of Bloomsbury, you must now retire into a dreadful solitude, which you have created for yourself. At the most active period of life, you must quit the busy scene, and conceal yourself from the world, if you would hope to save the wretched remains of a ruined reputation. The vices never fail of their effect. They operate like age,—bring on dishonour before its time, and in the prime of youth leave the character broken and exhausted.

Yet your conduct has been mysterious, as well as contemptible. Where is now that firmness, or obstinacy so long boasted of by your friends, and acknowledged by your enemies? We were taught to expect, that you would not leave the ruin of this country to be compleated by other hands, but were determined either to gain a decisive victory over the constitution, or to perish bravely at least, in the last dye of the prerogative. You knew the danger, and might have been provided for it. You took sufficient time to prepare for a meeting with your parliament, to confirm the mercenary fidelity of your dependants, and to suggest to your Sovereign a language suited to his dignity at least, if not to his benevolence and wisdom. Yet, while the whole kingdom was agitated

agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question, and, instead of the explicit firmness and decision of a King, you gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined \* grazier, and the whining piety of a Methodist. We had reason to expect, that notice would have been taken of the petitions which the King has received from the English nation; and although I can conceive some personal motives for not yielding to them, I can find none, in common prudence or decency, for treating them with contempt. Be assured, my Lord, the English people will not tamely submit to this unworthy treatment;—they had a right to be heard, and their petitions, if not granted, deserved to be considered. Whatever be the real views and doctrine of a court, the Sovereign should be taught to preserve some forms of attention to his subjects, and if he will not redress their grievances, not to make them a topic of jest and mockery among lords and ladies of the bed-chamber. Injuries may be atoned for and forgiven; but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge. This neglect of the petitions was how-

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\* There was something wonderfully pathetic in the mention of the horned cattle.

ever a part of your original plan of government, nor will any consequences it has produced account for your deserting your Sovereign, in the midst of that distress, in which you and your \* new friends had involved him. One would think, my Lord, you might have taken this spirited resolution before you had dissolved the last of those early connexions, which once, even in your own opinion, did honour to your youth ;—before you had obliged Lord Granby to quit a service he was attached to ;—before you had discarded one Chancellor and killed another. To what an abject condition have you laboured to reduce the best of princes, when the unhappy man, who yields at last to such personal instance and solicitation, as never can be fairly employed against a subject, feels himself degraded by his compliance, and is unable to survive the disgraceful honours which his gracious Sovereign had compelled him to accept. He was a man of spirit, for he had a puick sense of shame, and death has redeemed his character. I know your Grace too well to appeal to your feelings upon this event ; but there is another heart, not yet, I hope, quite callous to the touch of humanity, to which

\* The Bedford party.

which it ought to be a dreadful lesson for ever.†

Now, my Lord, let us consider the situation to which you have conducted, and in which you thought it adviseable to abandon your royal master. Whenever the people have complained, and nothing better could be said in defence of the measures of government, it has been the fashion to answer us, though not very fairly, with an appeal to the private virtues of your Sovereign. ‘ Has he not, to relieve the people, surrendered a considerable part of his revenue? Has he not made the judges independent, by fixing them in their places for life?’ —My Lord, we acknowledge the gracious principle which gave birth to these concessions, and have nothing to regret, but that it has never been adhered to. At the end of seven years, we are loaded with a debt of about five hundred thousand pounds upon the civil list, and we now see the Chancellor of Great Britain tyrannically forced out of his office, not for want of abilities, not for want of integrity, or of attention to his duty, but for delivering his honest opinion in parliament, upon the greatest constitutional question that has arisen since the revolution.—We care not to whose

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private

† The most secret particulars of this detestable transaction shall, in due time, be given to the public. The people shall know what kind of man they have to deal with.

private virtues you appeal; the theory of such a government is falsehood and mockery;—the practice is oppression. You have laboured then (though I confess to no purpose) to rob your master of the only plausible answer that ever was given in defence of his government,—of the opinion which the people had conceived of his personal honour and integrity.—The duke of Bedford was more moderate than your Grace. He only forced his master to violate a solemn promise made to an \* individual. But you, my Lord, have successfully extended your advice to every political, every moral engagement, that could bind either the magistrate or the man. The condition of a King is often miserable, but it required your Grace's abilities to make it contemptible.—You will say perhaps that the faithful servants, in whose hands you have left him, are able to retrieve his honour, and to support his government. You have publicly declared, even since your resignation, that you approved of their measures, and admired their conduct,—*particularly that of the Earl of Sandwich*. What a pity it is, that, with all this appearance, you should think it necessary to separate yourself from such amiable companions. You forget, my Lord, that while you are lavish

\* Mr. Stuart Mackenzie.

in the praise of men whom you desert, you are publicly opposing your conduct to your opinions, and depriving yourself of the only plausible pretence you had for leaving your Sovereign overwhelmed with distress; I call it *plausible*, for, in truth, there is no reason whatsoever, less than the frowns of your master, that could justify a man of spirit for abandoning his post at a moment so critical and important? It is in vain to evade the question. If you will not speak out, the public have a right to judge from appearances. We are authorized to conclude, that you either differ from your colleagues, whose measures you still affect to defend, or that you thought the administration of the King's affairs no longer tenable. You are at liberty to choose between the hypocrite and the coward. Your best friends are in doubt which way they shall incline. Your country unites the characters, and gives you credit for them both. For my own part, I see nothing inconsistent in your conduct. You began with betraying the people,—you conclude with betraying the King.

In your treatment of particular persons, you have preserved the uniformity of your character. Even Mr. Bradshaw declares, that no man was ever so ill-used as himself. As to the provision  
you

you have made for his family\*, he was intitled to it by the house he lives in. The successor of one chancellor might well pretend to be the rival of another. It is the breach of private friendship which touches Mr. Bradshaw; and to say the truth when a man of his rank and abilities had taken so active a part in your affairs, he ought not to have been let down at last with a miserable pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. Colonel Luttrell, Mr. Onslow, and Gov. Burgoyne, were equally engaged with you, and have rather more reason to complain than Mr. Bradshaw. These are men, my Lord, whose friendship you should have adhered to on the same principle, on  
which

\* A pension of 1500 l. per annum, insured upon the 4½ per-cent., (he was too cunning to trust to Irish security) for the lives of himself and all his sons. This gentleman, who a very few years ago was clerk to a contractor for forage, and afterwards exalted to a petty post in the war office, thought it necessary (as soon as he was appointed Secretary to the Treasury) to take that great house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in which the Earl of Northington had resided, while he was Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. As to the pension, Lord North very solemnly assured the house of commons, that no pension was ever so well deserved as Mr. Bradshaw's.—N. B. Lord Camden and Sir Jeffery Amherst are not near so well provided for, and Sir Edward Hawke, who saved the state, retires with two thousand pounds a year, on the Irish establishment, from which he in fact receives less than Mr. Bradshaw's pension.

which you deserted Lord Rockingham, Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and the Duke of Portland. We can easily account for your violating your engagements with men of honour, but why should you betray your *natural connexions*? Why separate yourself from Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower, and Mr. Rigby, or leave the three worthy gentlemen abovementioned to shift for themselves? With all the fashionable indulgence of the times, this country does not abound in characters like theirs; and you may find it a difficult matter to recruit the black catalogue of your friends.

The recollection of the royal patent you sold to Mr. Hine, obliges me to say a word in defence of a man whom you have taken the most dishonourable means to injure. I do not refer to the sham prosecution which you affected to carry on against him. On that ground, I doubt not he is prepared to meet you with tenfold recrimination, and set you at defiance. The injury you had done him affects his moral character. You knew that the offer to purchase the reversion of a place, which has heretofore been sold under a decree of the court of chancery, however imprudent in his situation, would no way tend to cover him with that sort of guilt which you wished to fix upon him in the eyes of the world. You laboured  
(no useful information could be obtained)  
then,

then, by every species of false suggestion, and even by publishing counterfeit letters, to have it understood that he had proposed terms of accommodation to you, and had afforded to abandon his principles, his party, and his friends. You consulted your own breast for a character of consummate treachery, and gave it to the public for that of Mr. Vaughan. I think myself obliged to do this justice to an injured man, because I was deceived by the appearances thrown out by your Grace, and have frequently spoken of his conduct with indignation. If he really be, what I think him, honest, though mistaken, he will be happy in recovering his reputation, though at the expence of his understanding. Here, I see, the matter is likely to rest. Your Grace is afraid to carry on the prosecution. Mr. Hine keeps quiet possession of his purchase; and governor Burgoyné, relieved from the apprehension of refunding the money, sits down, for the remainder of his life, INFAMOUS AND CONTENTED.

I believe, my Lord, I may now take my leave of you for ever. You are no longer that resolute minister, who had spirit to support the most violent measures; who compensated for the want of good and great qualities, by a brave determination (which soine people admired and relied on)

to

to maintain himself without them. The reputation of obstinacy and perseverance might have supplied the place of all the absent virtues. You have now added the last negative to your character, and meanly confessed that you are destitute of the common spirit of a man. Retire then, my Lord, and hide your blushes from the world ; for, with such a load of shame, even ~~BLACK~~ may change its colour. A mind such as yours, in the solitary hours of domestic enjoyment, may still find topics of consolation. You may find it in the memory of violated friendship ; in the afflictions of an accomplished prince, whom you have disgraced and deserted, and in the agitations of a great country, driven by your councils, to the brink of destruction.

The palm of ministerial firmness is now transferred to Lord North. He tells us so himself, with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo*\* ; and I am ready enough to believe, that, while he can keep his place, he will not easily be persuaded to resign it. Your Grace was the firm minister of yesterday : Lord North is the firm minister of to-day. To-morrow, perhaps, his Majesty, in his

\* This eloquent person has got as far as the discipline of Demosthenes. He constantly speaks with pebbles in his mouth, to improve his articulation.

wisdom, may give us a rival for you both. You are too well acquainted with the temper of your late allies, to think it possible that Lord North should be permitted to govern this country. If we may believe common fame, they have shewn him their superiority already. His Majesty is indeed too gracious to insult his subjects, by chusing his first minister from among the domestics of the Duke of Bedford. That would have been too gross an outrage to the three kingdoms. Their purpose, however, is equally answered by pushing forward this unhappy figure, and forcing it to bear the odium of measures which they in reality direct. Without immediately appearing to govern, they possess the power, and distribute the emoluments of government as they think proper. They still adhere to the spirit of that calculation, which made Mr. Luttrell representative of Middlesex. Far from regretting your retreat, they assure us very gravely, that it increases the real strength of the ministry. According to this way of reasoning, they will probably grow stronger, and more flourishing, every hour they exist; for I think there is hardly a day passes in which some one or other of his Majesty's servants does not leave them to improve by the loss of his assistance. But, alas! their countenances speak a different language.

language. When the members drop off, the main body cannot be insensible of its approaching dissolution. Even the violence of their proceedings is a signal of despair. Like broken tenants, who have had warning to quit the premises, they curse their landlord, destroy the fixtures, throw every thing into confusion, and care not what mischief they do to the estate.

JUNIUS.

## LETTER XLIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

*March. 19, 1770.*

I BELIEVE there is no man, however indifferent about the interests of this country, who will not readily confess that the situation, to which we are now reduced, whether it has arisen from the violence of faction, or from an arbitrary system of government justifies the most melancholy apprehensions, and calls for the exertion of whatever wisdom or vigour is left among us. The King's answer to the remonstrance of the city of London, and the measures since adopted by the ministry amount to a plain declaration, that the principle on which Mr. Luttrell was seated in the house of commons is to be supported in all its consequences, and carried to its utmost extent. The same spirit which violated the freedom of election, now invades the declaration and bill of rights rights, and threatens to punish the subject for exercising a privilege, hitherto undisputed, of petitioning

tioning the crown. The grievances of the people are aggravated by insults; their complaints are merely disregarded, but checked by authority; and every one of those acts, against which they remonstrated, confirmed by the King's decisive approbation. At such a moment, no honest man will remain silent or inactive. However distinguished by rank or property, in the rights of freedom we are all equal. As we are Englishmen, the least considerable man among us has an interest equal to the proudest nobleman, in the laws and constitution of his country, and is equally called upon to make a generous contribution in support of them;—whether it be the heart to conceive, the understanding to direct, or the hand to execute. It is a common cause, in which we are all interested, in which we should all be engaged. The man who deserts it at this alarming crisis, is an enemy to his country, and, what I think of infinitely less value, a traitor to his Sovereign. The subject, who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate, will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures. The city of London have given an example, which, I doubt not, will be followed by the whole kingdom. The noble spirit of the metropolis is the life-blood of the state, collected at the heart: from that point it circu-

circulates with health and vigour though every artery of the constitution. The time is come, when the body of the English people must assert their own cause: conscious of their strength, and animated by a sense of their duty, they will not surrender their birthright to ministers, parliaments, or kings.

The city of London have expressed their sentiments with freedom and firmness; they have spoken truth boldly; and, in whatever light their remonstrance may be represented by courtiers, I defy the most subtle lawyer in this country to point out a single instance, in which they have exceeded the truth. Even that assertion, which we are told is most offensive to parliament, in the theory of the English constitution, is strictly true. If any part of the representative body be not chosen by the people, that part vitiates and corrupts the whole. If there be a defect in the representation of the people, that power, which alone is equal to the making of the laws in this country, is not complete, and the acts of parliament under that circumstance, are not the acts of a pure and entire legislature. I speak of the theory of our constitution; and whatever difficulties or inconveniences may attend the practice, I am ready

ready to maintain, that, as far as the fact deviates from the principle, so far the practice is vicious and corrupt. I have not heard a question raised upon any other part of the remonstrance. That the principle, on which the Middlesex election was determined, is more pernicious in its effects, than either the levying of ship-money by Charles the first, or the suspending power assumed by his son, will hardly be disputed by any man who understands or wishes well to the English constitution. It is not an act of open violence done by the King, or any direct and palpable breach of the laws attempted by his minister, that can ever endanger the liberties of this country. Against such a king or minister the people would immediately take the alarm, and all the parties unite to oppose him. The laws may be grossly violated in particular instances, without any direct attack upon the whole system. Facts of that kind stand alone; they are attributed to necessity, not defended upon principle. We can never be really in danger, until the forms of parliament are made use of to destroy the substance of our civil and political liberties;—until parliament itself betrays its trust, by contributing to establish new principles of government, and employing the very weapons committed to it by the collective body, to stab the constitution.

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As for the terms of the remonstrance, I presume it will not be affirmed, by any person less polished than a gentleman usher, that this is a season for compliments. Our gracious Sovereign indeed is abundantly civil to himself. Instead of an answer to a petition, his Majesty very gracefully pronounces his own panegyric ; and I confess, that, as far as his personal behaviour, or the royal purity of his intentions is concerned, the truth of those declarations, which the minister has drawn up for his master, cannot decently be disputed. In every other respect, I affirm that they are absolutely unsupported, either in argument or fact. I must add too, that supposing the speech were otherwise unexceptionable, it is not a direct answer to the petition of the city. His Majesty is pleased to say, that he is always ready to receive the requests of his subjects ; yet the sheriffs were twice sent back with an excuse, and it was certainly debated in council whether or no the magistrates of the city of London should be admitted to an audience. Whether the remonstrance be or be not injurious to parliament, is the very question between the parliament and the people, and such a question as cannot be decided by the assertion of a third party, however respectable. That the petitioning

titioning for a dissolution of parliament is irreconcileable with the principles of the constitution is a new doctrine. His Majesty perhaps has not been informed, that the house of commons themselves have, by a formal resolution, admitted it to be the right of the subject. His Majesty proceeds to assure us that he has made the laws the rule of his conduct. Was it in ordering or permitting his ministers to apprehend Mr. Wilkes by a general warrant?—Was it in suffering his ministers to revive the obsolete maxim of *nullum tempus* to rob the Duke of Portland of his property, and thereby give a decisive turn to a county election?—Was it in erecting a chamber consultation of surgeons, with authority to examine into and supersede the legal verdict of a jury? Or did his Majesty consult the laws of this country, when he permitted his secretary of state to declare, that whenever the civil magistrate is trifled with, a military force must be sent for; *without the delay of a moment*, and effectually employed? Or was it in the barbarous exactness with which this illegal, inhuman doctrine was carried into execution?—If his majesty had recollect<sup>ed</sup> these facts, I think he would never have said, at least with any reference to the measures or his government, that he had made the laws the rule of his conduct. To

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talk of preserving the affections, or relying on the support of his subjects, while he continues to act upon these principles, is indeed paying a compliment to their loyalty, which I hope they have too much spirit and understanding to deserve.

His Majesty, we are told, is not only punctual in the performance of his own duty, but careful not to assume any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. Admitting this last assertion to be strictly true, it is no way to the purpose. The city of London have not desired the King to assume a power placed in other hands. If they had, I should hope to see the person, who dared to present such a petition, immediately impeached. They solicit their sovereign to exert that constitutional authority, which the laws have vested in him for the benefit of his subjects. They call upon him to make use of his lawful prerogative in a case, which our laws evidently supposed might happen, since they have provided for it by trusting the Sovereign with a discretionary power to dissolve the parliament. This request will, I am confident, be supported by remonstrances from all parts of the kingdom. His Majesty will find at last, that this is the sense of his people, and that it is not his interest to support either ministry or parliament, at the hazard

zard of a breach with the collective body of his subjects.—That he is the King of a free people is indeed his greatest glory. That he may long continue the King of a free people, is the second wish that animates my heart. The first is, THAT THE PEOPLE MAY BE FREE.\*

JUNIUS.

\* When his Majesty had done reading his speech, the lord Mayor, &c. had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand; after which, as they were withdrawing, his Majesty instantly turned round to his courtiers, and burst out a laughing.

Nero fiddled, while Rome was burning. John Horne.

## LETTER XLIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

April 3, 1770.

**I**N my last letter I offered you my opinion of the truth and propriety of his Majesty's answer to the city of London, considering it merely as the speech of a minister, drawn up in his own defence, and delivered, as usual, by the chief magistrate. I would separate, as much as possible, the King's personal character and behaviour from the acts of the present government. I wish it to be understood that his Majesty had in effect no more concern in the substance of what he said, than Sir James Hodges had in the remonstrance, and that as Sir James, in virtue of his office, was obliged to speak the sentiments of the people, his Majesty might think himself bound by the same official obligation, to give a graceful utterance to the sentiments of his minister. The cold formality of a well-repeated lesson is widely distant from the animated expression of the heart.

This

This distinction, however, is only true with respect to the measure itself. The consequences of it reach beyond the minister, and materially affect his Majesty's honour. In their own nature they are formidable enough to alarm a man of prudence, and disgraceful enough to afflict a man of spirit. A subject, whose sincere attachment to his Majesty's person and family is founded upon rational principles, will not, in the present conjuncture, be scrupulous of alarming, or even of afflicting his Sovereign. I know there is another sort of loyalty, of which his Majesty has had plentiful experience. When the loyalty of Tories, Jacobites, and Scotchmen, has once taken possession of an unhappy prince, it seldom leaves him without accomplishing his destruction. When the poison of their doctrines has tainted the natural benevolence of his disposition, when their insidious counsels have corrupted the *flamina* of his government, what antidote can restore him to his political health and honour, but the firm sincerity of his English subjects?

It has not been usual in this country, at least since the days of Charles the first, to see the Sovereign personally at variance, or engaged in a direct altercation with his subjects. Acts of grace and indulgence are wisely appropriated to him,  
and

and should constantly be performed by himself. He never should appear but in an amiable light to his subjects. Even in France, as long as any ideas of a limited monarchy were thought worth preserving, it was a maxim, that no man should leave the royal presence discontented. They have lost or renounced the moderate principles of their government, and now, when their parliaments venture to remonstrate, the tyrant comes forward, and answers absolutely for himself. The spirit of their present constitution requires that the King should be feared, and the principle, I believe, is tolerably supported by the fact. But, in our political system, the theory is at variance with the practice, for the King should be beloved. Measures of greater severity may, indeed, in some circumstances, be necessary ; but the minister who advises, should take the execution and odium of them entirely upon himself. He not only betrays his master, but violates the spirit of the English constitution, when he exposes the chief magistrate to the personal hatred or contempt of his subjects. When we speak of the firmness of government, we mean an uniform system of measures, deliberately adopted, and resolutely maintained by the servants of the crown, not a peevish asperity in the language or behaviour of the sovereign.

vereign. The government of a weak, irresolute monarch may be wise, moderate, and firm ;—that of an obstinate, capricious prince, on the contrary, may be feeble, undetermined and relaxed. The reputation of public measures depends upon the minister, who is responsible, not upon the King, whose private opinions are not supposed to have any weight against the advice of his council, whose personal authority should therefore never be interposed in public affairs.—This, I believe, is true, constitutional doctrine. But for a moment let us suppose it false. Let it be taken for granted, that an occasion may arise, in which a King of England shall be compelled to take upon himself the ungrateful office of rejecting the petitions, and censuring the conduct of his subjects ; and let the city remonstrance be supposed to have created so extraordinary an occasion. On this principle, which I presume no friend of administration will dispute, let the wisdom and spirit of the ministry be examined. They advise the King to hazard his dignity, by a positive declaration of his own sentiments :—They suggest to him a language full of severity and reproach. What follows ? When his Majesty had taken so decisive a part in support of his ministry and parliament, he had a right to expect from *them* a reciprocal

ciprocal demonstration of firmness in their own cause, and of their zeal for his honour. He had reason to expect (and such, I doubt not, were the blustering promises of Lord North) that the persons, whom he had been advised to charge with having failed in their respect to him, with having injured parliament, and violated the principles of the constitution, should not have been permitted to escape without some severe marks of the displeasure and vengeance of parliament. As the matter stands; the minister, after placing his Sovereign in the most unfavourable light to his subjects, and after attempting to fix the ridicule and odium of his own precipitate measures upon the royal character, leaves him a solitary figure upon the scene, to recal, if he can, or to compensate, by future compliances, for one unhappy demonstration of ill-supported firmness, and ineffectual resentment. As a man of spirit, his Majesty cannot but be sensible, that the lofty terms in which he was persuaded to reprimand the city, when united with the silly conclusion of the business, resemble the pomp of a mock-tragedy, where the most pathetic sentiments, and even the sufferings of the hero are calculated for derision.

Such has been the boasted firmness and consistency

sistency of a minister, \* whose appearance in the house of commons was thought essential to the King's service ;—whose presence was to influence every division ;—who had a voice to persuade, an eye to penetrate, a gesture to command. The reputation of these great qualities has been fatal to his friends. The little dignity of Mr. Ellis has been committed. The mine was sunk ;— combustibles provided, and Welbore Ellis, the Guy Faux of the fable, waited only for the signal of command. All of a sudden the country gentlemen discover how grossly they have been deceived ;—the minister's heart fails him, the grand plot is defeated in a moment, and poor Mr. Ellis and his motion taken into custody. From the event of Friday last one would imagine, that some fatality hung over this gentleman. Whether he makes or suppresses a motion, he is equally sure of disgrace. But the complexion of the times will suffer no man to be vice-treasurer of Ireland with impunity. †

VOL. I.

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\* This graceful minister is oddly constructed. His tongue is a little too big for his mouth, and his eyes a great deal too big for their sockets. Every part of his person sets natural proportion at defiance. At this present writing, his head is supposed to be much too heavy for his shoulders.

† About this time, the courtiers talked of nothing but a bill

I do not mean to express the smallest anxiety for the minister's reputation. He acts separately for himself, and the most shameful inconsistency may perhaps be no disgrace to him. But when the Sovereign, who presents the Majesty of the state, appears in person, his dignity should be supported ;—the occasion should be important ;—the plan well considered ;—the execution steady and consistent. My zeal for his Majesty's real honour compels me to assert, that it has been too much the system of the present reign, to introduce him personally, either to act for, or to defend his servants. They persuade him to do what is properly *their* business, and desert him in the midst of

bill of pains and penalties against the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, or impeachment at the least. Little Mannikin Ellis told the King that, if the business were left to his management, he would engage to do wonders. It was thought very odd that a motion of so much importance should be intrusted to the most contemptible little piece of machinery in the whole kingdom. His honest zeal however was disappointed. The minister took fright, and at the very instant that little Ellis was going to open, sent him an order to sit down. All their magnanimous threats ended in a ridiculous vote of censure, and still more ridiculous address to the King. This shameful desertion so afflicted the generous mind of George the Third, that he was obliged to live upon potatoes for three weeks, to keep off a malignant fever.—Poor man!—*quis talia fando temperet a lacrymis!*

of it\*. Yet this is an inconvenience, to which he must for ever be exposed, while he adheres to a ministry divided among themselves, or unequal in credit and ability to the great task they have undertaken. Instead of reserving the interposition of the royal personage, as the last resource of government, their weakness obliges them to apply it to every ordinary occasion, and to render it cheap and common in the opinion of the people. Instead of supporting their master, they look to *him* for support, and for the emoluments of remaining one day more in office, care not how much his sacred character is prostituted and dishonoured.

If I thought it possible for this paper to reach the closet, I would venture to appeal at once to his Majesty's judgment. I would ask him, but in the most respectable terms, ‘ As you are a young man, Sir, who ought to have a life of happiness in prospect ;—as you are a husband ;—as you are a father, (your filial duties I own have been religiously performed) is it *bona fide*

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‘ for

\* After a second person had succeeded in cajolling Mr. Yorke, he told the Duke of Grafton, with a witty smile, “ My lord, you may kill the next Percy yourself !—N. B. He had but that instant wiped the tears away, which overcame Mr. Yorke.

' for your interest or your honour to sacrifice your  
' domestic tranquility, and to live in a perpe-  
' tual disagreement with your people, merely to  
' preserve such a chain of beings as North, Bar-  
' rington, Weymouth, Gower, Ellis, Onslow,  
' Rigby, Jerry Dyson, and Sandwich? Their very  
' names are a satire upon all government, and I de-  
' fy the gravest of your chaplains to read the cata-  
' logue without laughing.'

For my own part, Sir, I have always considered addresses from parliament as a fashionable, unmeaning formality. Usurpers, idiots, and tyrants have been successively complimented with almost the same professions of duty and affection. But let us suppose them to mean exactly what they profess. The consequences deserve to be considered. Either the sovereign is a man of high spirit and dangerous ambition, ready to take advantage of the treachery of his parliament, ready to accept of the surrender they make him of the public liberty;—or he is a mild undesigning prince, who, provided they indulge him with state and pageantry, would of himself intend no mischief. On the first supposition, it must soon be decided by the sword, whether the constitution should be lost or preserved. On the second, a prince no way qualified for the execution of a great and hazardous enterprize, and without any determined

minded object in view, may nevertheless be driven into such desperate measures, as may lead directly to his ruin, or disgrace himself by a shameful fluctuation between the extremes of violence at one moment, and timidity at another. The minister perhaps may have reason to be satisfied with the success of the present hour, and with the profits of his employment. He is the tenant of the day, and has no interest in the inheritance. The sovereign himself is bound by other obligations, and ought to look forward to a superior, a permanent interest. His paternal tenderness should remind him, how many hostages he has given to society. The ties of nature come powerfully in aid of oaths and protestations. The father, who considers his own precarious state of health, and the possible hazard of a long minority, will wish to see the family estate free and unencumbered\*. What is the dignity of the crown, though it were really maintained;—what is the honour of parliament, supposing it could exist without any foundation of integrity and justice;—or what is the vain reputation of firmness, even if the scheme of the government  
were

\* Every true friend of the House of Brunswick sees with affliction, how rapidly some of the principal branches of the family have dropped off.

were uniform and consistent, compared with the heart-felt affections of the people, with the happiness and security of the royal family, or even with the grateful acclamations of the populace! Whatever style of contempt may be adopted by ministers or parliaments, no man sincerely despises the voice of the English nation. The house of commons are only interpreters, whose duty it is to convey the sense of the people faithfully to the crown. If the interpretation be false or imperfect, the constituent powers are called upon to deliver their own sentiments. Their speech is rude, but intelligible;—their gesture fierce, but full of explanation. Perplexed by sophistries, their honest eloquence rises into action. Their first appeal was to the integrity of their representatives:—the second to the King's justice:—the last argument of the people, whenever they have recourse to it, will carry more perhaps than persuasion to parliament, or supplication to the throne.

JUNIUS.

L E T -

## LETTER XLV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

May. 28, 1770.

WHILE parliament was sitting, it would neither have been safe, nor perhaps quite regular, to offer any opinion to the public, upon the justice or wisdom of their proceedings. To pronounce fairly upon their conduct, it was necessary to wait until we could consider, in one view, the beginning, the progress, and the conclusion of their deliberations. The cause of the public was undertaken and supported by men, whose abilities and united authority, to say nothing of the advantageous ground they stood on, might well be thought sufficient to determine a popular question in favour of the people. Neither was the house of commons so absolutely engaged in defence of the ministry, or even of their own resolutions, but that *they* might have paid some decent regard to the known disposition of their constituents; and, without any dishonour to their firmness, might have retracted

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an opinion too hastily adopted, when they saw the alarm it had created, and how strongly it was opposed by the general sense of the nation. The ministry too, would have consulted their own immediate interest, in making some concession satisfactory to the moderate part of the people. Without touching the fact, they might have consented to guard against, or give up the dangerous principle, on which it was established. In this state of things, I think it was highly improbable at the beginning of the session, that the complaints of the people upon a matter, which, in *their* apprehension at least, immediately affected the life of the constitution, would be treated with as much contempt by their own representatives, and by the house of lords, as they had been by the other branch of the legislature. Despairing of their integrity, we had a right to expect something from their prudence, and something from their fears. The duke of Grafton certainly did not foresee to what an extent the corruption of a parliament might be carried. He thought, perhaps, that there was still some portion of shame or virtue left in the majority of the house of commons, or that there was a line in public prostitution, beyond which they would scruple to proceed. Had the young man been a little more practised in the world,

world, or had he ventured to measure the characters of other men by his own, he would not have been so easily discouraged.

The prorogation of parliament naturally calls upon us to review their proceedings, and to consider the condition in which they have left the kingdom. I do not question but they have done what is usually called the king's business much to his Majesty's satisfaction. We have only to lament, that, in consequence of a system introduced or revived in the present reign, this kind of merit should be very consistent with the neglect of every duty they owe to the nation. The interval between the opening of the last, and the close of the former session was longer than usual. Whatever were the views of the minister in deferring the meeting of parliament, sufficient time was certainly given to every member of the house of commons, to look back upon the steps he had taken, and the consequences they had produced. The zeal of party, the violence of personal animosities, and the heat of contention had leisure to subside. From that period, whatever resolution they took was deliberate and propense. In the preceding session, the dependents of the ministry had affected to believe, that the final determination of the question would have satisfied the nation, or at least put a stop to

their complaints; as if the certainty of an evil could diminish the sense of it, or the nature of injustice could be altered by decision. But they found the people of England were in a temper very distant from submission; and, altho' it was contended that the house of commons could not themselves reverse a resolution, which had the force and effect of a judicial sentence, there were other constitutional expedients, which would have given a security against any similar attempts for the future. The general proposition, in which the whole country had an interest, might have been reduced to a particular fact, in which Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Luttrell would alone have been concerned. The house of lords might interpose;—the King might dissolve the parliament;—or, if every other resource failed, there still lay a grand constitutional writ of error, in behalf of the people, from the decision of one court to the wisdom of the whole legislature. Every one of these remedies has been successfully attempted. The people performed *their* part with dignity, spirit, and perseverance. For many months his Majesty heard nothing from his people but the language of complaint and resentment;—unhappily for this country it was the daily triumph of his courtiers that he heard it with an indifference approaching to contempt.

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The house of commons having assumed a power unknown to the constitution, were determined not merely to support it in the single instance in question, but to maintain the doctrine in its utmost extent, and to establish the fact as a precedent in law, to be applied in whatever manner his Majesty's servants should hereafter think fit. Their proceedings upon this occasion are a strong proof that a decision, in the first instance illegal and unjust, can only be supported by a continuation of falsehood and injustice. To support their former resolutions, they were obliged to violate some of the best known and established rules of the house. In one instance they went so far as to declare, in open defiance of truth and common-sense, that it was not the rule of the house to divide a complicated question, at the request of a member\*. But after trampling upon the laws of the land, it was not wonderful that they should treat the private regulations of their own assembly with equal disregard. The speaker, being young in office, began with pretending ignorance, and ended

\* This extravagant resolution appears in the Votes of the House : but, in the minutes of the committees, the instances of resolutions contrary to law and truth, or of refusals to acknowledge law and truth when propounded to them, are innumerable.

ended with deciding for the ministry. We were not surprized at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed at his own baseness, and every man was astonished\*.

The interest of the public was vigorously supported in the house of lords. Their right to defend the constitution against any incroachment of the other estates, and the necessity of exerting it at this period, was urged to them with every argument that could be supposed to influence the heart or the understanding. But it soon appeared that they had already taken their part, and were determined to support the house of commons, not only at the expence of truth and decency, but even by a surrender of their own most important rights. Instead of performing that duty which the constitution expected from them, in return for

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\* When the king first made it a measure of his government to destroy Mr. Wilkes, and when for this purpose it was necessary to run down privilege, Sir Fletcher Norton, with his usual prostituted effrontery, assured the house of commons, that he should regard one of their votes, no more than a resolution of so many drunken porters. This is the very lawyer, whom Ben Johnson describes in the following lines:

" Gives forked counsel; takes provoking Gold,  
" On either hand, and puts it up.  
" So wise, so grave, of so perplex'd a tongue,  
" And loud withal, that would not wag, nor scarce  
" Lie still without a fee."

the dignity and independence of their station, in return for the hereditary share it has given them in the legislature, the majority of them made a common cause with the other house in oppressing the people, and established another doctrine as false in itself, and if possible more pernicious to the constitution, than that on which the Middlesex election was determined. By resolving that they had no right to impeach a judgment of the house of commons in any case whatsoever, where that house has a competent jurisdiction, they in effect gave up the constitutional check and reciprocal controul of one branch of the legislature over the other, which is perhaps the greatest and most important object provided for by the division of the whole legislative power into three estates; and now, let the judicial decisions of the house of commons be ever so extravagant, let their declarations of the law be ever so flagrantly false, arbitrary, and oppressive to the subject, the house of lords have imposed a slavish silence upon themselves;—they cannot interpose,—they cannot protect the subject,—they cannot defend the laws of their country. A concession so extraordinary in itself, so contradictory to the principles of their own institution, cannot but alarm the most unsuspecting mind. We may well conclude, that  
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the lords would hardly have yielded so much to the other house, without the certainty of a compensation, which can only be made to them at the expence of the people\*. The arbitrary power they have assumed of imposing fines and committing, during pleasure, will now be exercised in its full extent. The house of commons are too much in their debt to question or interrupt their proceedings. The crown too, we may be well assured, will lose nothing in this new distribution of power. After declaring, that to petition for a dissolution of parliament is irreconcileable with the principles of the constitution, his Majesty has reason to expect that some extraordinary compliment will be returned to the royal prerogative. The three branches of the legislature seem to treat their separate rights and interests as the Roman Triumvirs did their friends. They reciprocally sacrifice them to the animosities of each other, and establish a detestable union among themselves, upon the ruin of the laws and liberty of the commonwealth.

Through the whole proceedings of the house of commons in this session, there is an apparent, a palpable

\* The man who resists and overcomes this insidious power, assumed by the lords, must be supported by the whole people. We have the laws on our side, and want nothing but an intrepid leader. When such a man stands forth, let the nation look to it. It is not his cause, but our own.

palpable consciousness of guilt, which has prevented their daring to assert their own dignity, where it has been immediately and grossly attacked. In the course of Doctor Musgrave's examination, he said every thing that can be conceived mortifying to individuals, or offensive to the house. They voted his information frivolous, but they were awed by his firmness and integrity, and sunk under it\*. The terms, in which the sale of a patent to Mr. Hine were communicated to the public, naturally called for a parliamentary enquiry. The integrity of the house of commons was directly impeached; but they had not courage to move in their own vindication, because the enquiry would have been fatal to Colonel Burgoyne, and the Duke of Grafton. When Sir George Savile branded them with the name of traitors to their constituents, when the Lord Mayor, the sheriffs, and Mr. Trecotthick, expressly avowed and maintained every part of the city remonstrance, why did they tamely submit to be insulted? Why did they not immediately expel these refractory members? Conscious of the motives,

\* The examination of this firm, honest man, is printed for Almon. The reader will find it a most curious, and a most interesting tract. Doctor Musgrave, with no other support but truth, and his own firmness, resisted, and overcame the whole house of commons.

motives, on which they had acted, they prudently preferred infamy to danger, and were better prepared to meet the contempt, than to rouse the indignation of the whole people. Had they expelled those five members, the consequences of the new doctrine of incapacitation would have come immediately home to every man. The truth of it would then have been fairly tried, without any reference to Mr. Wilkes's private character, or the dignity of the house, or the obstinacy of one particular county. These topics, I know, have had their weight with men, who affecting a character of moderation, in reality consult nothing but their immediate ease; —who are weak enough to acquiesce under a flagrant violation of the laws, when it does not directly touch themselves, and care not what injustice is practised upon a man, whose moral character they piously think themselves obliged to condemn. In any other circumstances, the house of commons must have forfeited all credit and dignity, if after such gross provocation, they had permitted those five gentlemen to sit any longer among them. We should then have seen and felt the operation of a precedent, which is represented to be perfectly barren and harmless. But there is a set of men in this country, whose understandings measure the violation

ulation of law by the magnitude of the instance, not by the important consequences, which flow directly from the principle, and the minister, I presume, did not think it safe to quicken their apprehensions too soon. Had Mr. Hampden reasoned and acted like the moderate men of these days, instead of hazarding his whole fortune in a law-suit with the crown, he would have quietly paid the twenty shillings demanded of him,—the Stuart family would probably have continued upon the throne, and, at this moment, the imposition of ship-money would have been an acknowledged prerogative of the crown.

What then has been the business of the session, after voting the supplies, and confirming the determination of the Middlesex election? The extraordinary prorogation of the Irish parliament, and the just discontents of that kingdom, have been passed by without notice. Neither the general situation of our colonies, nor that particular distress which forced the inhabitants of Boston, to take up arms in their defence, have been thought worthy of a moment's consideration. In the repeal of those acts, which were most offensive to America, the parliament have done every thing, but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously take care to preserve the contention. It

is not pretended that the continuation of the tea duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the mother country. What is it then but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a speculative right, and fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans, without service to their masters? But it has pleased God to give us a ministry and a parliament, who are neither to be persuaded by argument, nor instructed by experience.

LORD North, I presume, will not claim an extraordinary merit from any thing he has done this year in the improvement or application of the revenue. A great operation, directed to an important object, though it should fail of success, marks the genius and elevates the character of a minister. A poor contracted understanding deals in little schemes, which dishonour him if they fail, and do him no credit if they succeed. Lord North had fortunately the means in his possession of reducing all the four per cents at once. The failure of his first enterprize in finance is not half so disgraceful to his reputation as a minister, as the enterprize itself is injurious to the public. Instead of striking one decisive blow, which would have cleared the market at once, upon terms proportioned to the price of the four per cents six weeks ago, he hastampered

pered with a pitiful portion of a commodity, which ought never to have been touched but in gross;— he has given notice to the holders of that stock, of a design formed by government to prevail upon them to surrender it by degrees, consequently has warned them to hold up and enhance the price;— so that the plan of reducing the four per cents must either be dropped entirely, or continued with an increasing disadvantage to the public. The minister's sagacity, has served to raise the value of the thing he means to purchase, and to sink that of the three per cents, which it is his purpose to sell. In effect, he has contrived to make it the interest of the proprietor of four per cents to sell out and buy three per cents in the market, rather than subscribe his stock upon any terms, that can possibly be offered by government.

The state of the nation leads us naturally to consider the situation of the King. The prorogation of parliament has the effect, of a temporary dissolution. The odium of measures adopted by the collective body sits lightly upon the separate members, who composed it. They retire into summer quarters, and rest from the disgraceful labours of the campaign. But as for the sovereign, *it is not so with him.* He has a permanent existence

tence in this country; He cannot withdraw himself from the complaints, the discontents, the reproaches of his subjects. They pursue him to his retirement, and invade his domestic happiness, when no address can be obtained from an obsequious parliament to encourage or console him. In other times, the interest of the King and people of England was, as it ought to be, entirely the same. A new system has not only been adopted in fact, but professed upon principle. Ministers are no longer the public servants of the state, but the private domestics of the Sovereign. \* One particular class of men are permitted to call themselves the King's friends, as if the body of the people were the King's enemies; or as if his Majesty looked for a resource or consolation, in the attachment of a few favourites, against the general contempt and detestation of his subjects. Edward, and Richard the second, made the same distinction between the collective body of the people, and a contemptible party who surrounded the throne. The event of their mistaken conduct might have been a warning to

\* "An ignorant, mercenary, and servile crew; unanimous  
"in evil, diligent in mischief, varable in principles, con-  
"stant to flattery, talkers for liberty, but slaves to power;—  
"filling themselves the court party, and the prince's only  
"friends."

Davenant.

to their successors. Yet the errors of those princes were not without excuse. They had as many false friends, as our present gracious Sovereign, and infinitely greater temptations to seduce them. They were neither sober, religious, nor demure. Intoxicated with pleasure, they wasted their inheritance in pursuit of it. Their lives were like a rapid torrent, brilliant in prospect, though useless or dangerous in its course. In the dull, unanimated existence of other princes, we see nothing but a sickly, stagnant water, which taints the atmosphere without fertilizing the soil.—The morality of a King is not to be measured by vulgar rules. His situation is singular. There are faults which do him honour, and virtues that disgrace him. A faultless, insipid equality in his character, is neither capable of vice nor virtue in the extreme; but it secures his submission to those persons, whom he has been accustomed to respect, and makes him a dangerous instrument of *their* ambition. Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons, and one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connexions, nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which begins with a meritorious

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sacrifice of the understanding, and finally conducts the monarch and the martyr to the block.

At any other period, I doubt not, the scandalous disorders, which have been introduced into the government of all the dependencies in the empire would have roused the attention of the public. The odious abuse and prostitution of the prerogative at home,—the unconstitutional employment of the military,—the arbitrary fines and commitments by the house of lords, and court of king's bench;—the mercy of a chaste and pious prince extended chearfully to a wilful murderer, because that murderer is the brother of a common prostitute\*, would, I think, at any other time, have excited universal indignation. But the daring attack upon the constitution, in the Middlesex election, makes us callous and indifferent to inferior grievances. No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart. The free election of our representatives in parliament comprehends, because it is, the source and security of every right and privilege of the English nation. The ministry have realized the compendious ideas of Caligula.

They

\* M is Kennedy.

They know that the liberty, the laws, and property  
of an Englishman have in truth but one neck, and  
that to violate the freedom of election strikes deep-  
ly at them all.

JUNIUS.

L E T

## LETTER XLVI.

TO LORD NORTH.

MY LORD,

Aug. 22, 1770.

MR. Luttrell's services were the chief support and ornament of the Duke of Grafton's administration. The honour of rewarding them was reserved for your Lordship. The Duke, it seems, had contracted an obligation he was ashamed to acknowledge, and unable to acquit. You, my Lord, had no scruples. You accepted the succession with all its incumbrances, and have paid Mr. Luttrell his legacy, at the hazard of ruining the estate.

When this accomplished youth declared himself the champion of government, the world was busy in enquiring what honours or emoluments could be a sufficient recompence, to a young man of his rank and fortune, for submitting to mark his entrance into life with the universal contempt and detestation of his country.—His noble father had not been so precipitate.—To vacate his seat in parliament

liament ;—to intrude upon a county in which he had no interest or connexion ;—to possess himself of another man's right, and to maintain it in defiance of public shame as well as justice, bespoke a degree of zeal or of depravity, which all the favour of a pious Prince could hardly requite. I protest, my Lord, there is in this young man's conduct, a strain of prostitution, which, for its singularity, I cannot but admire. He has discovered a new line in the hunian character ;—he has degraded even the name of Luttrell, and gratified his father's most sanguine expectations.

The Duke of Grafton, with every possible disposition to patronise this kind of merit, was contented with pronouncing Colonel Luttrell's panegyric. The gallant spirit, the disinterested zeal of the young adventurer, were echoed through the house of lords. His Grace repeatedly pledged himself to the house, as an evidence of the purity of his friend Mr. Luttrell's intentions ;—that he had engaged without any prospect of personal benefit, and that the idea of compensation would mortally offend him\*. The noble Duke could hardly be in earnest ; but he had lately quitted his employment, and began to think it necessary to

VOL. I.      T t                  take

\* He now says that this great object is the rank of Colonel, and that he will have it.

take some care of his reputation. At that very moment the Irish negociation was probably begun.—Come forward, thou worthy representative of Lord Bute, and tell this insulted country, who advised the King to appoint Mr. Luttrell, ADJUTANT-GENERAL to the army in Ireland. By what management was Colonel Cuninghame prevailed on to resign his employment, and the obsequious Gisborne to accept of a pension for the government of Kinsale \* ? Was it an original stipulation with the Princess of Wales, or does he owe his preferment to your Lordship's partiality, or to the Duke of Bedford's friendship ? My Lord, though it may not be possible to trace this measure to its source, we can follow the stream,

and

\* This infamous transaction ought to be explained to the public. Colonel Gisborne was Quarter-master-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend persuades him to resign to a Scotch officer, one Fraser, and gives him the government of kinsale.—Colonel Cuninghame was Adjutant-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend offers him a pension to induce him to resign to Luttrell. Cuninghame treats the offer with contempt. What's to be done ? Poor Gisborne must move once more.—He accepts of a pension of 500l. a year, until a government of greater value shall become vacant. Colonel Cuninghame is made Governor of kinsale ; and Luttrell, at last, for whom the whole machinery is put in motion, becomes Adjutant-general, and in effect takes the command of the army in Ireland.

and warn the country of its approaching destruction. The English nation must be rouzed, and put upon its guard. Mr. Luttrell has already shewn us how far he may be trusted, whenever an open attack is to be made upon the liberties of this country. I do not doubt that there is a deliberate plan formed.—Your Lordship best knows by whom ;—the corruption of the legislative body on this side—a military force on the other—and then, *Farewell to England!* It is impossible that any minister shall dare to advise the King to place such a man as Luttrell in the confidential post of Adjutant-General, if there were not some secret purpose in view, which only such a man as Luttrell is fit to promote. The insult offered to the army in general is as gross as the outrage intended to the people of England. What! Lieutenant-colonel Luttrell, Adjutant-general of an army of sixteen thousand men ! one would think his Majesty's campaigns at Blackheath and Wimbledon might have taught him better.—I cannot help wishing General Harvey joy of a colleague, who does so much honour to the employment.—But, my Lord, this measure is too daring to pass unnoticed, too dangerous to be received with indifference or submission. You shall not have time to new-model the

Irish

Irish army. They will not submit to be garbled by Colonel Luttrell. As a mischief to the English constitution, (for he is not worth the name of enemy) they already detest him. As a boy, impudently thrust over their heads, they will receive him with indignation and contempt.—As for you, my Lord, who perhaps are no more than the blind, unhappy instrument of Lord Bute and her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be assured that you shall be called upon to answer for the advice, which has been given, and either discover your accomplices, or fall a sacrifice to their security.

JUNIUS.

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THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

